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OF

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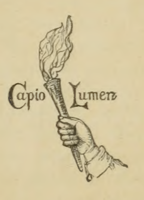

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ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ
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ΘΑΛΕΙΑ.

ἘΠΙ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἄμασιν Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρου 1
ἐστρατεύετο, ἄγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἦρχε, καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε. Πέμψας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἴγυπτον κήρυκα, αἴτεε Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα· αἴτεε δὲ ἐκ συμβουλίης ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου, ὃς μεμφόμενος Ἄμασιν, ἔπρηξε ταῦτα, ὅτι μιν ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἰητρῶν ἀποσπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικός τε καὶ τέκνων, ἔκδοτον ἐποίησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κῦρος πέμψας παρὰ Ἄμασιν αἴτεε ἰητρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν, ὃς εἴη ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἐνῆγε τῇ συμβουλίῃ κελεύων αἰτέειν τὸν Καμβύσεα Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα· ἵνα ἢ δοὺς ἀνιῷτο, ἢ μὴ δοὺς, Καμβύσῃ ἀπέχθοιτο. ὁ δὲ Ἄμασις, τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Περσέων ἀχθόμενος, καὶ ἀρρωδέων, οὐκ εἶχε οὔτε δοῦναι οὔτε ἀρνήσασθαι· εὖ γὰρ ἠπίστατο, ὅτι οὐκ ὡς γυναῖκά μιν ἔμελλε Καμβύσης ἕξειν, ἀλλ' ὡς παλλακήν. ταῦτα δὴ ἐκλογιζόμενος, ἐποίησε τάδε. ἦν Ἀπρίεω τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέος θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδὴς, μούνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμμένη· οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Νίτητις. ταύτην δὴ τὴν παῖδα ὁ Ἄμασις κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ, ἀποπέμπει ἐς Πέρσας ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ὥς μιν ἠσπάζετο, πατρόθεν οὐνομάζων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παῖς· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ "Ἀμάσιος οὐ μανθάνεις, ὃς ἐμέ σοι κόσμῳ ἀσκήσας ἀπέ"πεμψε, ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα διδοὺς, ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἀληθηΐῃ "Ἀπρίεω· τὸν ἐκεῖνος, ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ δεσπότεα, μετ' Αἰ"γυπτίων ἐπαναστὰς, ἐφόνευσε." Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ

7 J

αὕτη ἡ αἰτίη ἐγγενομένη ἤγαγε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου,
μεγάλως θυμωθέντα, ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. οὕτω μέν νυν λέ-
2 γουσι Πέρσαι. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οἰκηϊεῦνται Καμβύσεα,
φάμενοί μιν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπρίεω θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι·
Κῦρον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἄμασιν ἐπὶ τὴν
θυγατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεα. λέγοντες δὲ ταῦτα, οὐκ
ὀρθῶς λέγουσι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτοὺς, (εἰ γάρ τινες
καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ὀρθῶς ἐπιστέαται καὶ
Αἰγύπτιοι,) ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασι-
λεῦσαι, γνησίου παρεόντος· αὖτις δὲ, ὅτι Κασσανδάνης
τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης, ἀνδρὸς
Ἀχαιμενίδεω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίης. ἀλλὰ παρα-
τρέπουσι τὸν λόγον, προσποιεύμενοι τῇ Κύρου οἰκίῃ συγ-
3 γενέες εἶναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδε ἔχει. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ
ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανός· ὡς τῶν Περσίδων
γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναῖκας, ὡς
εἶδε τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστεῶτα τέκνα εὐειδέα τε καὶ
μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἐχρᾶτο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ, ὑπερθωυμάζουσα. ἡ
δὲ Κασσανδάνη, ἐοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνὴ, εἶπε τάδε·
"Τοιῶνδε μέντοι ἐμὲ παίδων μητέρα ἐοῦσαν Κῦρος ἐν
"ἀτιμίῃ ἔχει· τὴν δ' ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐπίκτητον ἐν τιμῇ
"τίθεται." Τὴν μὲν, ἀχθομένην τῇ Νιτήτι, εἰπεῖν ταῦτα·
τῶν δέ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα·
"Τοιγάρ τοι, ὦ μῆτερ, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ γένωμαι ἀνὴρ, Αἰγύ-
"πτου τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω· τὰ δὲ κάτω, ἄνω." Ταῦτα
εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὡς δέκα κου γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
ἐν θωύματι γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ, διαμνημονεύοντα, οὕτω δὴ,
ἐπεί τε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληΐην, ποιήσασθαι
τὴν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατηΐην.
4 Συνήνεικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιόνδε πρῆγμα γενέσθαι
ἐς τὴν ἐπιστράτευσιν ταύτην. ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων τῶν
Ἀμάσιος ἀνὴρ γένος μὲν Ἁλικαρνησσεὺς, οὔνομα δέ οἱ
Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ἱκανὸς, καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄλκιμος. οὗ-
τος ὁ Φάνης, μεμφόμενός κού τι Ἀμάσι, ἐκδιδρήσκει
πλοίῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, βουλόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λό-
γους. οἷα δὲ ἐόντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι λόγου οὐ
σμικροῦ, ἐπιστάμενόν τε τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτρεκέστατα,
μεταδιώκει ὁ Ἄμασις, σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος ἑλεῖν. μετα-

διώκει δὲ, τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας τρι-
ήρεϊ κατ' αὐτόν· ὃς αἱρέει μιν ἐν Λυκίῃ, ἑλὼν δὲ, οὐκ ἀνή-
γαγε ἐς Αἴγυπτον· σοφίῃ γάρ μιν περιῆλθε ὁ Φάνης.
καταμεθύσας γὰρ τοὺς φυλάκους, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρ-
σας. ὡρμημένῳ δὲ στρατεύεσθαι Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον,
καὶ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅκως τὴν ἄνυδρον διεκπερᾷ,
ἐπελθὼν φράζει μὲν καὶ τἄλλα τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρήγματα,
ἐξηγέεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν, ὧδε παραινέων· πέμψαντα
παρὰ τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα δέεσθαι, τὴν διέξοδόν οἱ
ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν. Μούνῃ δὲ ταύτῃ εἰσὶ φανεραὶ 5
ἐσβολαὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὔρων
τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος, ἥ ἐστι Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστινῶν
καλεομένων· ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος, ἐούσης πόλιος (ὡς ἐμοὶ
δοκέει) Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμ-
πόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιός ἐστι τοῦ
Ἀραβίου· ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου, αὖτις Σύρων μέχρι Σερβω-
νίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασ-
σαν· ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν
Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη Αἴγυπτος. τὸ δὴ με-
ταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε οὔρεος καὶ τῆς Σερ-
βωνίδος λίμνης, ἐὸν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλ' ὅσον
τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν, ἄνυδρόν ἐστι δεινῶς. Τὸ δὲ 6
ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννενώκασι, τοῦτο
ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης,
καὶ πρὸς, ἐκ Φοινίκης, κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἴνου
δὶς τοῦ ἔτεος ἑκάστου· καὶ ἓν κεράμιον οἰνηρὸν ἀριθμῷ
κείμενον οὐκ ἔστι (ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν) ἰδέσθαι. κοῦ δῆτα,
εἴποι τις ἂν, ταῦτα ἀναισιμοῦνται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω.
δεῖ τὸν μὲν δήμαρχον ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ πόλιος συλ-
λέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον, ἄγειν ἐς Μέμφιν· τοὺς δὲ ἐκ
Μέμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνυδρα τῆς Συρίης κομίζειν,
πλήσαντας ὕδατος. οὕτω ὁ ἐπιφοιτέων κέραμος, καὶ
ἐξαιρεόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐπὶ τὸν παλαιὸν κομίζεται ἐς 7
Συρίην. Οὕτω μέν νυν Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν
ταύτην παρασκευάσαντες ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ δὴ τὰ εἰρη-
μένα σάξαντες ὕδατι, ἐπεί τε τάχιστα παρέλαβον Αἴγυ-
πτον. Τότε δὲ οὐκ ἐόντος κω ὕδατος ἑτοίμου, Καμβύσης
πυθόμενος τοῦ Ἁλικαρνησσῆος ξείνου, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν

Ἀράβιον ἀγγέλους, καὶ δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείης ἔτυχε, πίστις δούς τε καὶ δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ.

8 Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῖα τοῖσι μάλιστα. ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· τῶν βουλομένων τα πιστὰ ποιέεσθαι, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἑστεώς, λίθῳ ὀξέϊ τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις· καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἑκατέρου κροκύδα, ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους ἑπτά· τοῦτο δὲ ποιέων, ἐπικαλέει τόν τε Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην. ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου ταῦτα, ὁ τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖσι φίλοισι παρεγγυᾷ τὸν ξεῖνον, ἢ καὶ τὸν ἀστὸν, ἢν πρὸς ἀστὸν ποιέηται· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιεῦσι σέβεσθαι. Διόνυσον δὲ θεὸν μοῦνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγεῦνται εἶναι· καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρὴν κείρεσθαί φασι, κατάπερ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι· κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα, περιξυροῦντες τοὺς κροτάφους. οὐνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον, Ὀροτάλτ· τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην, Ἀλιλάτ.

9 Ἐπεὶ ὦν τὴν πίστιν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι παρὰ Καμβύσεω ἀπιγμένοισι ἐποιήσατο ὁ Ἀράβιος, ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε. ἀσκοὺς καμήλων πλήσας ὕδατος, ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζωὰς τῶν καμήλων πάσας· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον, καὶ ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεω στρατόν. Οὗτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων εἴρηται· δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἧσσον πιθανὸν, ἐπεί γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι. Ποταμός ἐστι μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ, τῷ οὔνομα Κόρυς. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ὦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, ῥαψάμενον τῶν ὠμοβοέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δερμάτων ὀχετὸν μήκει ἐπικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον, ἀγαγεῖν διὰ δὴ τούτου τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνύδρῳ μεγάλας δεξαμενὰς ὀρύξασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὕδωρ σώζωσι. ὁδὸς δ' ἔστι δυώδεκα ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄνυδρον. ἄγειν δέ μιν διὰ ὀχετῶν τριῶν ἐς τριξὰ χωρία.

10 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος ὁ Ἀμάσιος παῖς, ὑπομένων

Καμβύσεα. Ἄμασιν γὰρ οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης, ἐλάσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἄμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε· ἐν τοῖσι οὐδέν οἱ μέγα ἀνάρσιον πρῆγμα συνενείχθη. ἀποθανὼν δὲ, καὶ ταριχευθεὶς, ἐτάφη ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι τῇσι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, τὰς αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσατο. Ἐπὶ Ψαμμηνίτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, φάσμα Αἰγυπτίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο· ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἱ Αἰγύπτιαι, οὔτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὑσθεῖσαι, οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὡς λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, ἐπεί τε διεξελάσαντες τὴν ἄνυ- 11
δρον ἵζοντο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὡς συμβαλέοντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπίκουροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ἐόντες ἄνδρες Ἕλληνές τε καὶ Κᾶρες, μεμφόμενοι τῷ Φάνῃ, ὅτι στρατὸν ἤγαγε ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀλλόθροον, μηχανῶνται πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε. ἦσαν τῷ Φάνῃ παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι· τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὄψιν τοῦ πατρὸς, κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων· μετὰ δὲ, ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων, ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα. διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παίδων, οἶνόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν· ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπίκουροι, οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον. μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς, καὶ πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων πλήθεϊ πολλῶν, ἐτράποντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

Θῶυμα δὲ μέγα ἴδον, πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. 12
τῶν γὰρ ὀστέων περικεχυμένων χωρὶς ἑκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ πεσόντων· (χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἐκέετο τὰ ὀστέα, ὡς ἐχωρίσθη κατ' ἀρχάς· ἑτέρωθι δὲ, τῶν Αἰγυπτίων·) αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαί εἰσι ἀσθενέες οὕτω, ὥστε εἰ θέλεις ψήφῳ μούνῃ βαλέειν, διατετρανέεις· αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δή τι ἰσχυραὶ, μόγις ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξειας. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τόδε ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐμέ γ' εὐπετέως ἔπειθον, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν, αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξάμενοι, ξυρεῦνται τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύνεται τὸ ὀστέον. τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἴτιόν ἐστι· Αἰγυ-

πτίων γὰρ ἄν τις ἐλαχίστους ἴδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτό ἐστι αἴτιον ἰσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς κεφαλάς. τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι, ὅτι ἀσθενέας φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς, αἴτιον τόδε· σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πίλους τιάρας φορέοντες. ταῦτα μέν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐόντα ἴδον· ἴδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοῖα τούτοισι ἐν Παπρήμι, τῶν ἅμα Ἀχαιμένεϊ τῷ Δαρείου διαφθαρέντων ὑπὸ Ἰνάρω τοῦ Λίβυος.

13 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ὡς ἐτράποντο, ἔφευγον οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. κατειληθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφιν, ἔπεμπε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναίην, κήρυκα ἄγουσαν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, ἐς ὁμολογίην προκαλεόμενος Αἰγυπτίους. οἱ δὲ, ἐπεί τε τὴν νέα ἴδον ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐκχυθέντες ἁλέες ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος, τήν τε νέα διέφθειραν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες, ἐφόρεον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο πολιορκεύμενοι, χρόνῳ παρέστησαν. Οἱ δὲ προσεχέες Λίβυες, δείσαντες τὰ περὶ τὸν Αἴγυπτον γεγονότα, παρέδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀμαχητί· καὶ φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο, καὶ δῶρα ἔπεμπον. ὣς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαῖοι, δείσαντες ὁμοίως ἃ καὶ οἱ Λίβυες, ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐποίησαν. Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐλθόντα δῶρα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθεὶς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ὅτι ἦν ὀλίγα· ἔπεμψαν γὰρ δὴ πεντηκοσίας μνέας ἀργυρίου οἱ Κυρηναῖοι· ταύτας δρασσόμενος, αὐτοχειρίῃ διέσπειρε τῇ στρατιῇ.

14 Ἡμέρῃ δὲ δεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἧς παρέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἐπὶ λύμῃ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνιτον, βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἕξ, τοῦτον κατίσας σὺν ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι, διεπειρᾶτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς, ποιέων τοιάδε. στείλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθῆτι δουληΐῃ, ἐξέπεμπε ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσαν ὑδρήϊον· συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους, ἀπολέξας ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὁμοίως ἐσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέος. ὡς δὲ βοῇ τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρῆσαν αἱ παρθένοι κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πατέρες ἀνεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον, ὁρέοντες τὰ τέκνα κεκακωμένα· ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος, προϊδὼν καὶ μαθὼν, ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν. παρεξελ-

*θουσέων δὲ τῶν ὑδροφόρων, δεύτερά οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἔπεμπε
μετ' ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων δισχιλίων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην
ἐχόντων, τούς τε αὐχένας κάλῳ δεδεμένους, καὶ τὰ στό-
ματα ἐγκεχαλινωμένους. ἄγοντο δὲ ποινὴν τίσοντες Μυ-
τιληναίων τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι ἀπολομένοισι σὺν τῇ νηΐ·
ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδίκασαν οἱ βασιλήϊοι δικασταὶ, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς
ἑκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρώτων ἀνταπόλλυσθαι.
ὁ δὲ, ἰδὼν παρεξιόντας, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν παῖδα ἡγεόμενον ἐπὶ
θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων
αὐτὸν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιεύντων, τὠυτὸ ἐποίησε τὸ
καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρί. παρελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, συνή-
νεικε ὥστε τῶν συμποτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλικέστερον, ἐκ-
πεπτωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἐόντων, ἔχοντά τε οὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα
πτωχὸς, καὶ προσαιτέοντα τὴν στρατιὴν, παριέναι Ψαμ-
μήνιτόν τε τὸν Ἀμάσιος, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατη-
μένους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὡς ἴδε, ἀνα-
κλαύσας μέγα, καὶ καλέσας οὐνόματι τὸν ἑταῖρον, ἐπλή-
ξατο τὴν κεφαλήν. Ἦσαν δ' ἄρα αὐτοῦ φύλακοι, οἳ τὸ
ποιεύμενον πᾶν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐπ' ἑκάστῃ ἐξόδῳ Καμβύσῃ
ἐσήμαινον. θωμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιεύμενα,
πέμψας ἄγγελον, εἰρώτα αὐτὸν, λέγων τάδε· "Δεσπότης
"σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ, διότι δὴ τὴν μὲν
"θυγατέρα ὁρέων κεκακωμένην, καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον
"στείχοντα, οὔτε ἀνέβωσας, οὔτε ἀπέκλαυσας· τὸν δὲ
"πτωχὸν, οὐδέν σοι προσήκοντα, ὡς ἄλλων πυνθάνομαι
"ἐτίμησας;" Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε·
"Ὦ παῖ Κύρου, τὰ μὲν οἰκήϊα ἦν μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὥστε ἀνα-
"κλαίειν· τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἑταίρου πένθος, ἄξιον ἦν δακρύων· ὃς ἐκ
"πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσὼν, ἐς πτωχηΐην ἀπῖκται
"ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ." Καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ὑπὸ
τούτου, εὖ δοκέειν οἱ εἰρῆσθαι. ὡς δὲ λέγεται ὑπ' Αἰγυ-
πτίων, δακρύειν μὲν Κροῖσον, ἐτετεύχεε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος
ἐπισπόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, δακρύειν δὲ Περ-
σέων τοὺς παρεόντας· αὐτῷ τε Καμβύσῃ ἐσελθεῖν οἶκτόν
τινα, καὶ αὐτίκα κελεύειν τόν τε οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολ-
λυμένων σώζειν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου ἀναστήσαν-
τας, ἄγειν παρ' ἑωυτόν. Τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα εὗρον οἱ με-* 15
τιόντες οὐκέτι περιεόντα, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κατακοπέντα·

αὐτὸν δὲ Ψαμμήνιτον ἀναστήσαντες, ἦγον παρὰ Καμβύσεα· ἔνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτᾶτο, ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἠπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονεῖν, ἀπέλαβε ἂν Αἴγυπτον, ὥστε ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐώθασι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας· τῶν, ἢν καί σφεων ἀποστέωσι, ὅμως τοῖσί γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν. πολλοῖσι μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλοισί ἐστι σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω νενομίκασι ποιέειν· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε, τῷ Λίβυος Ἰνάρω παιδὶ Θαννύρᾳ, ὃς ἀπέλαβε τήν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν· καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίου Παυσίρι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. καίτοι Ἰνάρω τε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοί κω Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω ἐργάσαντο. νῦν δὲ μηχανώμενος κακὰ ὁ Ψαμμήνιτος, ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν· ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἥλω. ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐπάϊστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, αἷμα ταύρου πιὼν ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. οὕτω δὴ οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε.

16 Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάϊν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε. ἐπεί τε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος οἰκία, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν Ἀμάσιος νέκυν ἐκφέρειν ἔξω. ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο, μαστιγοῦν ἐκέλευε, καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν, καὶ κεντοῦν τε, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι. ἐπεί τε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔκαμον ποιεῦντες, (ὁ γὰρ δὴ νεκρὸς, ἅτε τεταριχευμένος, ἀντεῖχέ τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέετο,) ἐκέλευσέ μιν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαῦσαι, ἐντελλόμενος οὐκ ὅσια. Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. τὸ ὦν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισί ἐστι· Πέρσῃσι μὲν, δι' ὅπερ εἴρηται, θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου· Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ νενόμισται πῦρ θηρίον εἶναι ἔμψυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν τά περ ἂν λάβῃ, πλησθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένῳ. οὔκων θηρίοισι νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφί ἐστι τὸν νέκυν διδόναι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταριχεύουσι, ἵνα μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ εὐλέων καταβρωθῇ. οὕτω δὴ οὐδετέροισι νομιζόμενα ἐνετέλλετο ποιέειν ὁ Καμβύσης. Ὡς μέντοι Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ Ἄμασις ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθὼν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων, ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην Ἀμάσι· ᾧ λυμαινόμενοι Πέρσαι, ἐδόκεον

Ἄμασιν λυμαίνεσθαι. λέγουσι γάρ, ὡς πυθόμενος ἐκ
μαντηΐου ὁ Ἄμασις τὰ περὶ ἑωυτὸν μέλλοι ἀποθανόντα
γίνεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα, τὸν μὲν
ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον, τὸν μαστιγωθέντα, ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψε
ἐπὶ τῇσι θύρῃσι ἐντὸς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θήκης, ἑωυτὸν δὲ ἐνε-
τείλατο τῷ παιδὶ ἐν μυχῷ τῆς θήκης ὡς μάλιστα θεῖναι.
αἱ μέν νυν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντολαὶ αὗται, αἱ ἐς τὴν τα-
φήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχουσαι, οὔ μοι δοκέουσι ἀρχὴν
γενέσθαι, ἄλλως δ' αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας 17
στρατηΐας, ἐπί τε Καρχηδονίους, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους, καὶ
ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας, οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ
τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ. βουλευομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔδοξε, ἐπὶ μὲν
Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν· ἐπὶ δὲ
Ἀμμωνίους, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Αἰθίο-
πας, κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὀψομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοισι
τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι λεγομένην εἶναι ἡλίου τράπεζαν, εἰ ἔστι
ἀληθέως, καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃ τὰ ἄλλα κατοψομένους· δῶρα
δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τῷ βασιλέϊ αὐτῶν. Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα 18
τοῦ ἡλίου τοιήδε τις λέγεται εἶναι· λειμών ἐστι ἐν τῷ
προαστείῳ ἐπίπλεος κρεῶν ἑφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπο-
δων, ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα
τοὺς ἐν τέλεϊ ἑκάστους ἐόντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας
δαίνυσθαι προσιόντα τὸν βουλόμενον· φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπι-
χωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι ἑκάστοτε. ἡ
μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου καλεομένη, λέγεται εἶναι τοιήδε.
Καμβύσῃ δὲ ὡς ἔδοξε πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα 19
μετεπέμπετο ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων
ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν· ἐν
ᾧ δὲ τούτους μετήϊσαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρ-
χηδόνα πλέειν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατόν. Φοίνικες δὲ οὐκ
ἔφασαν ποιήσειν ταῦτα· ὁρκίοισί τε γὰρ μεγάλοισι ἐνδε-
δέσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποιέειν ὅσια, ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς
ἑωυτῶν στρατευόμενοι. Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων, οἱ
λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο. Καρχηδόνιοι μέν νυν
οὕτω δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων. Καμβύσης
γὰρ βίην οὐκ ἐδικαίου προσφέρειν Φοίνιξι, ὅτι σφέας τε
αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσῃσι, καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἤρτητο

ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. δόντες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι σφέας αὐ-
20 τοὺς Πέρσῃσι, ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. Ἐπεί τε δὲ
τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφά-
γοι, ἔπεμπε αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ
λέγειν χρὴ, καὶ δῶρα φέροντας, πορφύρεόν τε εἷμα, καὶ
χρύσεον στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον, καὶ ψέλια, καὶ μύρου
ἀλάβαστρον, καὶ φοινικηΐου οἴνου κάδον. Οἱ δὲ Αἰθίο-
πες οὗτοι, ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης, λέγονται εἶναι
μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων· νόμοισι δὲ
καὶ ἄλλοισι χρᾶσθαι αὐτούς φασι κεχωρισμένοισι τῶν
ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιληΐην τοιῷδε·
τὸν ἂν τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν τε εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ
τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν τὴν ἰσχὺν, τοῦτον ἀξιοῦσι βασιλεύειν.
21 Ἐς τούτους δὴ ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυο-
φάγοι, διδόντες τὰ δῶρα τῷ βασιλέϊ αὐτῶν, ἔλεγον τάδε·
"Βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσέων Καμβύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος τοι
"καὶ ξεῖνος γενέσθαι, ἡμέας τε ἀπέπεμψε, ἐς λόγους τοι
"ἐλθεῖν κελεύων, καὶ δῶρα ταῦτά τοι διδοῖ, τοῖσι καὶ αὐ-
"τὸς μάλιστα ἥδεται χρεώμενος." Ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ, μαθὼν
ὅτι κατόπται ἥκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε· "Οὔτε
"ὁ Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ὑμέας ἔπεμψε φέροντας, προ-
"τιμῶν πολλοῦ ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς λέγετε
"ἀληθέα, (ἥκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς,) οὔτε
"ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ ἐστι δίκαιος· εἰ γὰρ ἦν δίκαιος, οὔτ' ἂν
"ἐπεθύμησε χώρης ἄλλης ἢ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ, οὔτ' ἂν ἐς δου-
"λοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ἦγε ὑπ' ὧν μηδὲν ἠδίκηται. νῦν
"δὲ αὐτῷ τόξον τόδε διδόντες, τάδε ἔπεα λέγετε· Βασι-
"λεὺς ὁ Αἰθιόπων συμβουλεύει τῷ Περσέων βασιλέϊ,
"ἐπεὰν οὕτω εὐπετέως ἕλκωσι τὰ τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα
"μεγάθεϊ τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τοὺς Μακροβίους
"πλήθεϊ ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι. μέχρι δὲ τού-
"του θεοῖσι εἰδέναι χάριν, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Αἰθι-
22 "όπων παισὶ γῆν ἄλλην προσκτᾶσθαι τῇ ἑωυτῶν." Ταῦ-
τα δὲ εἴπας, καὶ ἀνεὶς τὸ τόξον, παρέδωκε τοῖσι ἥκουσι.
λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἷμα τὸ πορφύρεον, εἰρώτα ὅ τι εἴη, καὶ
ὅκως πεποιημένον. εἰπάντων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν
ἀληθηΐην περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροὺς
μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι, δολερὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἵ-

ματα. δεύτερα δὲ, τὸν χρυσοῦν εἰρώτα στρεπτὸν τὸν
περιαυχένιον, καὶ τὰ ψέλια. ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυο-
φάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτῶν, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ νομί-
σας εἶναί σφεα πέδας, εἶπε ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῖσί εἰσι ῥωμα-
λεώτεραι τούτων πέδαι. τρίτον δὲ, εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον.
εἰπάντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τὸν αὐτὸν
λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἵματος εἶπε. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἶνον
ἀπίκετο, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν, ὑπερησθεὶς τῷ
πόματι, ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τε σιτέεται ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ χρόνον
ὁκόσον μακρότατον ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ζώει. οἱ δὲ σιτέεσθαι
μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπαν, ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν·
ὀγδώκοντα δ' ἔτεα ζόης πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προ-
κέεσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἔφη, οὐδὲν θωυμάζειν, εἰ
σιτεόμενοι κόπρον, ἔτεα ὀλίγα ζώουσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσ-
αῦτα δύνασθαι ζώειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον,
φράζων τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοισι τὸν οἶνον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἑωυ-
τοὺς ὑπὸ Περσέων ἑσσοῦσθαι. Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τὸν 23
βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς ζόης καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα
μὲν ἐς εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνέ-
εσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δέ τινας καὶ ταῦτα· σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι
κρέα ἑφθά· καὶ πόμα, γάλα. θῶυμα δὲ ποιευμένων τῶν
κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἐτέων, ἐπὶ κρήνην σφι ἡγήσασθαι,
ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι, λιπαρώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατάπερ εἰ ἐλαίου
εἴη· ὄζειν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡσεὶ ἴων. ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς
κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δή τι ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατάσκοποι,
ὥστε μηδὲν οἷόν τε εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέειν, μήτε ξύλον,
μήτε τῶν ὅσα ξύλου ἐστὶ ἐλαφρότερα· ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα
χωρέειν ἐς βυσσόν. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἴ σφί ἐστι ἀλη-
θέως οἷόν τι λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἶεν, τούτῳ τὰ πάντα
χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι. ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσο-
μένων, ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς δεσμωτήριον ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τοὺς
πάντας ἐν πέδῃσι χρυσέῃσι δεδέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτοισι
τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι πάντων ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιώτατον καὶ τιμιώ-
τατον. θεησάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἐθεήσαντο
καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἡλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταύ- 24
την, τελευταίας ἐθεήσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αἳ λέγονται
σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ὑέλου, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐπεὰν τὸν νεκρὸν
ἰσχνήνωσι, εἴτε δὴ κατάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι, εἴτε ἄλλως κως,

γυψώσαντες ἅπαντα αὐτὸν, γραφῇ κοσμέουσι, ἐξομοιεῦντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν· ἔπειτα δέ οἱ περιϊστᾶσι στήλην ἐξ ὑέλου πεποιημένην κοίλην· ἡ δέ σφι πολλὴ καὶ εὐεργὸς ὀρύσσεται. ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνεὼν διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὔτε ὀδμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος, οὔτε ἄλλο ἀεικὲς οὐδέν· καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερὰ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυϊ. ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι οἱ μάλιστα προσήκοντες, πάντων τε ἀπαρχόμενοι, καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκομίσαντες, ἱστᾶσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

25 Θεησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ ταῦτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης, ὀργὴν ποιησάμενος, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας· οὔτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὐδεμίαν παραγγείλας, οὔτε λόγον ἑωυτῷ δοὺς, ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς ἔμελλε στρατεύεσθαι. οἷα δὲ ἐμμανής τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐ φρενήρης, ὡς ἤκουε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο, Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεόντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἅμα ἀγόμενος. Ἐπεί τε δὲ στρατευόμενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβῃσι, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς πέντε μυριάδας· καὶ τούτοισι μὲν ἐνετέλλετο, Ἀμμωνίους ἐξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρῆσαι· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν, ἤϊε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας. Πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθέναι τὴν στρατιὴν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἶχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελελοίπεε· μετὰ δὲ τὰ σιτία, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐπέλιπε κατεσθιόμενα. εἰ μέν νυν μαθὼν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχεε, καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατὸν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῆθεν γενομένῃ ἁμαρτάδι ἦν ἂν ἀνὴρ σοφός· νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιεύμενος, ἤϊε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, ἕως μέν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγέοντες διέζωον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον ἀπίκοντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινὲς ἐργάσαντο· ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἕνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες, κατέφαγον. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δείσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπεὶς τὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἰθίοπας στόλον, ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Θήβας, πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἐκ Θηβέων δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμφιν, τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀπῆκε ἀπο-

πλέειν. ὁ μὲν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλος οὕτω ἔπρηξε. Οἱ 26
δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίους ἀποσταλέντες στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπεί τε ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβέων ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἀγωγοὺς, ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανεροί εἰσι ἐς Ὄασιν πόλιν, τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμιοι, τῆς Αἰσχριωνίης φυλῆς λεγόμενοι εἶναι· ἀπέχουσι δὲ ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ ψάμμου· οὐνομάζεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, Μακάρων νῆσος. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον λέγεται ἀπικέσθαι τὸν στρατόν· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκούσαντες, ἄλλοι οὐδένες οὐδὲν ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Ἀμμωνίους ἀπίκοντο, οὔτε ὀπίσω ἐνόστησαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀμμωνίων· ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς Ὀάσιος ταύτης ἰέναι διὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτοὺς μεταξύ κου μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ὀάσιος, ἄριστον αἱρεομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον μέγαν τε καὶ ἐξαίσιον, φορέοντα δὲ θῖνας τῆς ψάμμου, καταχῶσαί σφεας, καὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι. Ἀμμώνιοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς ταύτης.

Ἀπιγμένου δὲ Καμβύσεω ἐς Μέμφιν, ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτί- 27
οισι ὁ Ἆπις, τὸν Ἕλληνες Ἔπαφον καλέουσι· ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου, αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἵματά τε ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα, καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλίῃσι. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιεῦντας ὁ Καμβύσης, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξας, ἑωυτοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος, χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποιέειν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφιος· ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐς ὄψιν, εἴρετο "ὅ τι πρότερον μὲν, ἐόντος αὐτοῦ "ἐν Μέμφι, ἐποίευν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτιοι· τότε δὲ, "ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρείη τῆς στρατιῆς πλῆθός τι ἀποβαλών;" οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον, ὥς σφι θεὸς εἴη φανεὶς, διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι· καὶ ὡς ἐπεὰν φανῇ, τότε πάντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες ὁρτάζοιεν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης, ἔφη ψεύδεσθαί σφεας· καὶ ὡς ψευδομένους, θανάτῳ ἐζημίου. Ἀποκτείνας δὲ τούτους, δεύτερα τοὺς ἱρέας 28
ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν. λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν ἱρέων, οὐ λήσειν ἔφη αὐτὸν, εἰ θεός τις χειροήθης ἀπιγμένος εἴη Αἰγυπτίοισι. τοσαῦτα δὲ εἴπας, ἐπάγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἆπιν τοὺς ἱρέας· οἱ μὲν δὴ μετήϊσαν ἄξοντες. Ὁ δὲ

Ἆπις οὗτος, ὁ Ἔπαφος, γίνεται μόσχος ἐκ βοὸς ἥτις
οὐκέτι οἵη τε γίνεται ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βάλλεσθαι γόνον.
Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
κατίσχειν, καί μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἆπιν. Ἔχει
δὲ ὁ μόσχος οὗτος, ὁ Ἆπις καλεόμενος, σημήϊα τοιάδε·
ἐὼν μέλας, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκὸν τετράγωνον [φο-
ρέει·] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νώτου, αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον· ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐρῇ,
29 τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ, κάνθαρον. Ὡς
δὲ ἤγαγον τὸν Ἆπιν οἱ ἱρέες, ὁ Καμβύσης, οἷα ἐὼν ὑπο-
μαργότερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν
γαστέρα τοῦ Ἄπιος, παίει τὸν μηρόν· γελάσας δὲ, εἶπε
πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας· "Ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαὶ, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνον-
"ται, ἔναιμοί τε καὶ σαρκώδεες, καὶ ἐπαΐοντες σιδηρίων;
"ἄξιος μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οὗτός γε ὁ θεός. ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς
"γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε." Ταῦτα εἴπας,
ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι ταῦτα πρήσσουσι, τοὺς μὲν ἱρέας ἀπο-
μαστιγῶσαι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ἂν λάβωσι
ὁρτάζοντα, κτείνειν. ὁρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελέλυτο Αἰγυπτίοισι· οἱ
δὲ ἱρέες ἐδικαιεῦντο. ὁ δὲ Ἆπις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρὸν,
ἔφθινε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν, τελευτήσαν-
τα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος, ἔθαψαν οἱ ἱρέες λάθρῃ Καμβύσεω.
30 Καμβύσης δὲ, ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο
τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης. Καὶ
πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν,
ἐόντα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς· τὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐς
Πέρσας φθόνῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μοῦνος Περ-
σέων ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἴρυσε, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ
Αἰθίοπος ἤνεικαν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσέων
οὐδεὶς οἷός τε ἐγένετο. Ἀποιχομένου ὦν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ
Σμέρδιος, ὄψιν εἶδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε.
ἔδοξέ οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἀγγέλλειν, ὡς ἐν
τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ βασιληΐῳ ἱζόμενος Σμέρδις, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ ψαύσειε. Πρὸς ὦν ταῦτα, δείσας περὶ ἑωυτοῦ
μή μιν ἀποκτείνας ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ἄρχῃ, πέμπει Πρηξάσπεα
ἐς Πέρσας, ὃς ἦν οἱ ἀνὴρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτε-
νέοντά μιν. ὁ δὲ, ἀναβὰς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν·
οἱ μὲν λέγουσι, ἐπ' ἄγρην ἐξαγαγόντα· οἱ δὲ, ἐς τὴν Ἐρυ-
θρὴν θάλασσαν προσαγαγόντα καταποντῶσαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύση τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι 31
τοῦτο. δεύτερα δὲ ἐξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφεὴν, ἐπισπομέ-
νην οἱ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, τῇ καὶ συνοίκεε, καὶ ἦν οἱ ἀπ᾽ ἀμφο-
τέρων ἀδελφεή. ἔγημε δὲ αὐτὴν ὧδε· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώ-
θεσαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφεῇσι συνοικέειν Πέρσαι. ἠρά-
σθη μιῆς τῶν ἀδελφεῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμε-
νος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσειν, εἴρετο
καλέσας τοὺς βασιληΐους δικαστὰς, εἴ τίς ἐστι κελεύων
νόμος τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν. Οἱ δὲ βασι-
λήϊοι δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς
οὗ ἀποθάνωσι, ἤ σφι παρευρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου.
οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δίκας δικάζουσι, καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ
τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνα-
κέαται. Εἰρομένου ὦν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ
οὗτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα· φάμενοι, νόμον οὐδένα
ἐξευρίσκειν, ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεόν· ἄλ-
λον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων
ἐξεῖναι ποιέειν τὸ ἂν βούληται. οὕτω οὔτε τὸν νόμον
ἔλυσαν, δείσαντες Καμβύσεα· ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται
τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, παρεξεῦρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμ-
μαχον τῷ θέλοντι γαμέειν ἀδελφεάς. Τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ
Καμβύσης ἔγημε τὴν ἐρωμένην· μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν
χρόνον ἔσχε ἄλλην ἀδελφεήν. τουτέων δῆτα τὴν νεωτέ-
ρην, ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον, κτείνει. Ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ 32
θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διξὸς, ὥσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος, λέγεται λόγος.
Ἕλληνες μὲν λέγουσι, Καμβύσεα συμβαλέειν σκύμνον
λέοντος σκύλακι κυνός· θεωρέειν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ταύ-
την. νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος, ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ ἄλλον
σκύλακα, ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν, παραγενέσθαι οἱ· δύο
δὲ γενομένους οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ
σκύμνου. καὶ τὸν μὲν Καμβύσεα ἥδεσθαι θεώμενον· τὴν
δὲ, παρημένην δακρύειν. Καμβύσεα δὲ μαθόντα τοῦτο,
ἐπείρεσθαι διότι δακρύοι· τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἰδοῦσα τὸν
σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ τιμωρήσαντα, δακρύσειε, μνησθεῖσά
τε Σμέρδιος, καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς κείνῳ οὐκ εἴη ὁ τιμωρήσων.
Ἕλληνες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος φασὶ αὐτὴν ἀπο-
λέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ὡς τραπέζῃ περι-
κατημένων, λαβοῦσαν θρίδακα τὴν γυναῖκα περιτῖλαι,

καὶ ἐπανείρεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, κότερον περιτετιλμένη ἢ δασεῖα ἡ θρίδαξ ἐοῦσα εἴη καλλίων. καὶ τὸν φάναι, δασεῖαν. τὴν δ' εἰπεῖν· "Ταύτην μέντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίδακα ἐμιμήσαο, τὸν Κύρου οἶκον ἀποψιλώσας." Τὸν δὲ, θυμωθέντα ἐμπηδῆσαι αὐτῇ, ἐχούσῃ ἐν γαστρί· καί μιν ἐκτρώσασαν ἀποθανεῖν.

33 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκηΐους ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὸν Ἄπιν, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἐώθεε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν. καὶ γάρ τινα καὶ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγεται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἱρὴν οὐνομάζουσί τινες. οὔ νύν τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν, τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος, μηδὲ τὰς φρένας

34 ὑγιαίνειν. Τάδε δ' ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ἐξεμάνη. λέγεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα, καί οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὗτος, τούτου τε ὁ παῖς οἰνοχόος ἦν τῷ Καμβύσῃ, τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ σμικρή· εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε· "Πρήξασπες, κοῖόν μέ τινα νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα; τίνας τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέο ποιεῦνται;" Τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν· "Ὦ δέσποτα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέαι· τῇ δὲ φιλοινίῃ σέ φασι πλεόνως προσκέεσθαι." Τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων· τὸν δὲ, θυμωθέντα, τοιάδε ἀμείβεσθαι· "Νῦν ἄρα μέ φασι Πέρσαι οἴνῳ προσκείμενον παραφρονέειν, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα; οὐδ' ἄρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἦσαν ἀληθέες." Πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα, Περσέων οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων καὶ Κροίσου, εἴρετο Καμβύσης, κοῖός τις δοκέοι ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι Κῦρον· οἱ δὲ ἀμείβοντο, ὡς εἴη ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρός· τά τε γὰρ ἐκείνου πάντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν, καὶ προσεκτῆσθαι Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγον· Κροῖσος δὲ παρεών τε καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσει, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσεα τάδε· "Ἐμοὶ μέν νυν, ὦ παῖ Κύρου, οὐ δοκέεις ὅμοιος εἶναι τῷ πατέρι· οὐ γάρ κω τοί ἐστι υἱὸς οἷόν σε ἐκεῖνος κατελίπετο." ἥσθη τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης, καὶ

35 ἐπαίνεε τὴν Κροίσου κρίσιν. Τούτων δὴ ὦν ἐπιμνησθέντα, ὀργῇ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα· "Σὺ νῦν μάθε αὐτὸς, εἰ λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα, εἴτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες

"ταῦτα παραφρονέουσι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ σοῦ "τοῦδε, ἑστεῶτος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι, βαλὼν τύχοιμι "μέσης τῆς καρδίης, Πέρσαι φανέονται λέγοντες οὐδέν· ἢν "δὲ ἁμάρτω, φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα, καὶ μὲ "μὴ σωφρονέειν." Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα, καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τόξον, βαλέειν τὸν παῖδα· πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς, ἀνασχίζειν αὐτὸν κελεύειν, καὶ σκέψασθαι τὸ βλῆμα· ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίῃ εὑρεθῆναι ἐνεόντα τὸν ὀϊστὸν, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς, γελάσαντα, καὶ περιχαρέα γενόμενον· "Πρήξασπες, ὡς μὲν ἔγωγε οὐ μαίνομαι, Πέρ-"σαι τε παραφρονέουσι, δῆλά τοι γέγονε. νῦν δέ μοι "εἰπὲ, τίνα εἶδες ἤδη πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἐπίσκοπα "τοξεύοντα;" Πρηξάσπεα δὲ ὁρέοντα ἄνδρα οὐ φρενήρεα, καὶ περὶ ἑωυτῷ δειμαίνοντα, εἰπεῖν· "Δέσποτα, οὐδ' "ἂν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν καλῶς βαλέειν." Τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐξεργάσατο· ἑτέρωθι δὲ Περσέων, ὁμοῖα τοῖσι πρώτοισι, δυώδεκα ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιόχρεῳ ἑλὼν, ζώοντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατώρυξε.

Ταῦτα δέ μιν ποιεῦντα ἐδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς 36 νουθετῆσαι τοισίδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα "ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτρεπε, ἀλλ' ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε "σεωυτόν. ἀγαθόν τι, πρόνοον εἶναι· σοφὸν δὲ ἡ προ-"μηθίη. σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας, σεωυτοῦ πολιήτας, "ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιόχρεῳ ἑλών· κτείνεις δὲ παῖδας. "ἢν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιέῃς, ὅρα ὅκως μή σευ ἀποστή-"σονται Πέρσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πατὴρ σὸς Κῦρος ἐνετέλλετο "πολλὰ κελεύων σὲ νουθετέειν, καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὅ τι ἂν "εὑρίσκω ἀγαθόν." Ὁ μὲν δὴ εὔνοιαν φαίνων συνεβούλευέ οἱ ταῦτα. ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "Σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ "τολμᾷς συμβουλεύειν, ὃς χρηστῶς μὲν τὴν σεωυτοῦ "πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας, εὖ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συνε-"βούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτὸν Ἀράξεα ποταμὸν διαβάντα "ἰέναι ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἐκείνων διαβαίνειν "ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην; καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωυτὸν ὤλεσας, τῆς "σεωυτοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προστάς· ἀπὸ δὲ ὤλεσας Κῦ-"ρον, πειθόμενόν σοι. ἀλλ' οὔ τι χαίρων· ἐπεί τοι καὶ "πάλαι ἐς σὲ προφάσιός τευ ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι." Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας, ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὡς κατατοξεύσων

αὐτόν. Κροῖσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἔξω· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεί τε τοξεῦσαι οὐκ εἶχε, ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι θεράπουσι λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτεῖναι. οἱ δὲ θεράποντες, ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ, κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροῖσον· ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ ὥστε εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσει τῷ Καμβύσῃ, καὶ ἐπιζητήσει τὸν Κροῖσον, οἱ δὲ, ἐκφήναντες αὐτὸν, δῶρα λάμψονται ζωάγρια Κροίσου· ἢν δὲ μὴ μεταμελῆται, μηδὲ ποθῇ μιν, τότε καταχρῆσθαι. Ἐπόθησέ τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροῖσον οὐ πολλῷ μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον· καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τοῦτο, ἐπήγγελλον αὐτῷ ὡς περιείη. Καμβύσης δὲ Κροίσῳ μὲν συνήδεσθαι ἔφη περιεόντι· ἐκείνους μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ καταπροΐξεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀποκτενέειν. καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

37 *Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι, καὶ θήκας τε παλαιὰς ἀνοίγων, καὶ σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκρούς. ἐς δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἦλθε, καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε. ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὤγαλμα τοῖσι Φοινικηΐοισι Παταΐκοῖσι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πρώρῃσι τῶν τριήρεων περιάγουσι. ὃς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὀπώπεε, ἐγὼ δέ οἱ σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησίς ἐστι. Ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστι ἐσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱρέα· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε, πολλὰ κατασκώψας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοῖα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου· τούτου δέ σφεας παῖ-*
38 *δας λέγουσι εἶναι. Πανταχῇ ὦν μοι δῆλά ἐστι, ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἱροῖσί τε καὶ νομαίοισι ἐπεχείρησε καταγελᾶν. εἰ γάρ τις προθείη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν ἑλοίατο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουσι πολύ τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἑωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι. οὔκων οἰκός ἐστι ἄλλον γε δὴ ἢ μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι. Ὡς δὲ οὕτω νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πολλοῖσί τε καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρεόντας εἴρετο ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἂν χρήματι βουλοίατο τοὺς*

πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔφασαν ἔρδειν ἂν τοῦτο. Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας, οἳ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἴρετο, παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἑρμηνέος μανθανόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαίατ' ἂν τελευτέοντας τοὺς πατέρας κατακαίειν πυρί. οἱ δὲ, ἀμβώσαντες μέγα, εὐφημέειν μιν ἐκέλευον. Οὕτω μέν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται· καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκέει Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι, νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι.

Καμβύσεω δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένου, ἐποιή- 39
σαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατηΐην ἐπὶ Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰάκεος, ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῇ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν, τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι Πανταγνώτῳ καὶ Συλοσῶντι ἔνειμε· μετὰ δὲ, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλοσῶντα ἐξελάσας, ἔσχε πᾶσαν τὴν Σάμον· ἴσχων δὲ, ξεινηΐην Ἀμάσι τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέϊ συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα, καὶ δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ' ἐκείνου. Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρήγματα αὔξετο, καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα. ὅκου γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἐχώρεε εὐτυχέως. ἔκτητο δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν, καὶ χιλίους τοξότας· ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἦγε πάντας, διακρίνων οὐδένα. τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδοὺς τὰ ἔλαβε, ἢ ἀρχὴν μηδὲ λαβών. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων αἱρήκεε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄστεα· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίους, πανστρατιῇ βοηθέοντας Μιλησίοισι, ναυμαχίῃ κρατήσας εἷλε, οἳ τὴν τάφρον περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι
ὤρυξαν. Καί κως τὸν Ἄμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ 40
Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλά οἱ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιμελές. πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεῦνός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης, γράψας ἐς βιβλίον τάδε, ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον· "Ἄμασις Πολυκράτει "ὧδε λέγει. Ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ "ξεῖνον εὖ πρήσσοντα· ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι "οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν. "καί κως βούλομαι, καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ τῶν ἂν κήδωμαι, τὸ "μέν τι εὐτυχέειν τῶν πρηγμάτων, τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν· "καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα, ἐναλλὰξ πρήσσων, ἢ

"εὐτυχέειν τὰ πάντα. οὐδένα γάρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας, "ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος, εὐτυ-"χέων τὰ πάντα. Σὺ ὦν νῦν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος, ποίησον "πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε· φροντίσας τὸ ἂν εὕρῃς ἐόν "τοι πλείστου ἄξιον, καὶ ἐπ' ᾧ σὺ ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα "τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω, ὅκως μηκέτι "ἥξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους. ἤν τε μὴ ἐναλλὰξ ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τού-"του αἱ εὐτυχίαι τοι ταῖσι πάθαισι προσπίπτωσι, τρόπῳ
41 "τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑποκειμένῳ ἀκέο." Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης, καὶ νόῳ λαβὼν ὥς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο Ἄμασις, ἐδίζητο ἐπ' ᾧ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσηθείη ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων· διζήμενος δ' εὕρισκε τόδε. ἦν οἱ σφρηγὶς τὴν ἐφόρεε χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου· ἐπεὶ ὦν ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλέειν, ἐποίεε τοιάδε. πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν, ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν· μετὰ δὲ, ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἑκὰς ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγῖδα, πάντων ὁρεόντων τῶν συμπλόων, ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, ἀπέπλεε. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἰκία, συμφορῇ ἐχρῆτο.
42 Πέμπτῃ δὲ ἢ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. ἀνὴρ ἁλιεὺς, λαβὼν ἰχθῦν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν, ἠξίου μιν Πολυκράτεϊ δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, Πολυκράτεϊ ἔφη ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὄψιν. χωρήσαντος δέ οἱ τούτου, ἔλεγε, διδοὺς τὸν ἰχθῦν, "Ὦ βασι-"λεῦ, ἐγὼ τόνδε ἑλὼν, οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορὴν, "καίπερ γε ἐὼν ἀποχειροβίωτος, ἀλλά μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε "εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δή μιν φέρων δίδω-"μι." Ὁ δὲ, ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι ἔπεσι, ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· "Κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας, καὶ χάρις διπλέη τῶν τε λόγων "καὶ τοῦ δώρου· καί σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν." Ὁ μὲν δὴ ἁλιεὺς, μέγα ποιεύμενος ταῦτα, ἤϊε ἐς τὰ οἰκία· τὸν δὲ ἰχθῦν τάμνοντες οἱ θεράποντες, εὑρίσκουσι ἐν τῇ νηδύϊ αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγῖδα. ὡς δὲ εἶδόν τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτεα· διδόντες δέ οἱ τὴν σφρηγῖδα, ἔλεγον ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ εὑρέθη. Τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βιβλίον πάντα, τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἷα καταλε-

λαβήκεε· γράψας δὲ, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ βιβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἧκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἴη ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσειν μέλλει Πολυκράτης, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὑρίσκει. πέμψας δέ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον, διαλύεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐποίεε, ἵνα μὴ, συντυχίης δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεα καταλαβούσης, αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός. 43

Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Πολυκράτεα, εὐτυχέοντα τὰ πάντα, ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ κτισάντων Σαμίων. Πολυκράτης δὲ πέμψας παρὰ Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου, συλλέγοντα στρατὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐδεήθη ὅκως ἂν καὶ παρ' ἑωυτὸν πέμψας ἐς Σάμον, δέοιτο στρατοῦ. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων, προθύμως ἔπεμψε ἐς Σάμον, δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἅμα πέμψαι ἑωυτῷ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ὁ δὲ, ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπώπτευε μάλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν, ἀπέπεμπε τεσσεράκοντα τριήρεσι, ἐντειλάμενος Καμβύσῃ ὀπίσω τούτους μὴ ἀποπέμπειν. 44

Οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον· ἀλλ' ἐπεί τε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθῳ πλέοντες, δοῦναί σφι λόγον, καί σφι ἁδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι πλέειν· οἱ δὲ λέγουσι, ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ φυλασσομένους, ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς ἀποδρῆναι· καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης νηυσὶ ἀντιάσας, ἐς μάχην κατέστη. νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ κατιόντες, ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον· πεζομαχήσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ, ἑσσώθησαν· καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἔπλεον ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νικῆσαι Πολυκράτεα· λέγοντες, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔδεε σφέας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικαλέεσθαι, εἴπερ αὐτοὶ ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν Πολυκράτεα παραστήσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι, οὐδὲ λόγος αἱρέει, τῷ ἐπίκουροί τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ τοξόται οἰκήϊοι ἦσαν πλήθεϊ πολλοὶ, τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν κατιόντων Σαμίων, ἐόντων ὀλίγων, ἑσσωθῆναι. τῶν δὲ ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἐόντων πολιητέων 45

τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνειλήσας, εἶχε ἑτοίμους, ἢν ἄρα προδιδῶσι οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς κατιόντας, ὑποπρῆσαι αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσοίκοισι.

46 Ἐπεί τε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, καταστάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἔλεγον πολλά, οἷα κάρτα δεόμενοι. οἱ δέ σφι τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσει ὑπεκρίναντο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα ἐπιλεληθέναι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα οὐ συνιέναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, δεύτερα καταστάντες, ἄλλο μὲν εἶπον οὐδέν, θύλακον δὲ φέροντες, ἔφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέεσθαι. οἱ δέ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο, τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι·

47 βοηθέειν δ' ὦν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖσι. Καὶ ἔπειτα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμον· ὡς μὲν Σάμιοι λέγουσι, εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφι πρότεροι αὐτοὶ νηυσὶ ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους· ὡς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὕτω τιμωρῆσαι δεομένοισι Σαμίοισι ἐστρατεύοντο, ὡς τίσασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ κρητῆρος τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, τὸν ἦγον Κροίσῳ, καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος τὸν αὐτοῖσι Ἄμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε δῶρον. καὶ γὰρ θώρηκα ἐληΐσαντο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ ἢ τὸν κρητῆρα οἱ Σάμιοι· ἐόντα μὲν λίνεον, καὶ ζῴων ἐνυφασμένων συχνῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα θωυμάσαι ἄξιον, ἁρπεδόνη ἑκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποιέει· ἐοῦσα γὰρ λεπτή, ἔχει ἁρπεδόνας ἐν ἑωυτῇ τριηκοσίας καὶ ἑξήκοντα, πάσας φανεράς. τοιοῦτος ἕτερός ἐστι καὶ τὸν ἐν Λίνδῳ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ Ἄμασις.

48 Συνεπελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον, ὥστε γενέσθαι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως. ὕβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον γενεῇ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητῆρος τῇ ἁρπαγῇ γεγονός. Κερκυραίων γὰρ παῖδας τριηκοσίους ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς Σάρδις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ. προσχόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον τῶν ἀγόντων τοὺς παῖδας Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμιοι τὸν λόγον, ἐπ' οἷσι ἀγοίατο ἐς Σάρδις, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἱροῦ ἅψασθαι Ἀρτέμιδος· μετὰ δὲ, οὐ περιορέοντες ἀπέλκειν

τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐργόντων
Κορινθίων, ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμιοι ὁρτὴν, τῇ καὶ νῦν ἔτι
χρέωνται κατὰ ταὐτά. νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπιγενομένης, ὅσον
χρόνον ἱκέτευον οἱ παῖδες, ἵστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε
καὶ ἠϊθέων· ἱστάντες δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς, τρωκτὰ σησάμου τε
καὶ μέλιτος ἐποιήσαντο νόμον φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἁρπάζοντες
οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἔχοιεν τροφήν. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ
τόδε ἐγίνετο, ἐς ὃ οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τῶν παίδων οἱ φύλακοι,
οἴχοντο ἀπολιπόντες· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον ἐς Κέρ-
κυραν οἱ Σάμιοι. Εἰ μέν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος 49
τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἱ δὲ
οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον
ταύτης εἵνεκεν τῆς αἰτίης. νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ, ἐπεί τε ἔκτισαν
τὴν νῆσον, εἰσὶ διάφοροι ἐόντες ἑωυτοῖσι. τούτων ὦν
εἵνεκεν ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι.
Ἀπέπεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδις ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ Περίανδρος, τῶν
πρώτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παῖδας, τιμωρεύμενος·
πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἦρξαν ἐς αὐτὸν πρῆγμα
ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες. Ἐπεί τε γὰρ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκα 50
Μέλισσαν Περίανδρος, ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιήνδε οἱ
ἄλλην συνέβη πρὸς τῇ γεγονυίῃ γενέσθαι. ἦσάν οἱ ἐκ
Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὁ μὲν, ἑπτακαίδεκα, ὁ δὲ,
ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονώς. τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προ-
κλῆς, ἐὼν Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος, μεταπεμψάμενος παρ'
ἑωυτὸν, ἐφιλοφρονέετο, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, θυγατρὸς ἐόντας τῆς
ἑωυτοῦ παῖδας. ἐπεί τε δέ σφεας ἀπεπέμπετο, εἶπε προ-
πέμπων αὐτούς· "Ἆρα ἴστε, ὦ παῖδες, ὃς ὑμέων τὴν
" μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε;" Τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος
αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ οὔνομα
ἦν Λυκόφρων, ἤλγησε ἀκούσας οὕτω, ὥστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς
τὴν Κόρινθον, ἅτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε
προσεῖπε, διαλεγομένῳ τε οὔτε προσδιελέγετο, ἱστορέοντί
τε λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου. τέλος δέ μιν, πέρι θυμῷ ἐχόμε-
νος, ὁ Περίανδρος ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων. Ἐξελάσας 51
δὲ τοῦτον, ἱστόρεε τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ
διελέχθη. ὁ δέ οἱ ἀπηγέετο, ὥς σφεας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέ-
ξατο· ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἔπεος τό σφι ὁ Προκλῆς ἀποστέλ-
λων εἶπε, ἅτε οὐ νόῳ λαβὼν, οὐκ ἐμέμνητο. Περίανδρος

δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν ἔφη εἶναι μὴ οὔ σφι ἐκεῖνον ὑποθέσθαι τι· ἐλιπάρεέ τε ἱστορέων. ὁ δὲ, ἀναμνησθεὶς, εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο. Περίανδρος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδὲν, ᾗ ὁ ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαιταν ἐποιέετο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον, ἀπηγόρευε μή μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοισι. ὁ δὲ, ὅκως ἀπελαυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, ἀπελαύνετ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἀπειλέοντός τε τοῦ Περιάνδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι, καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος. ἀπελαυνόμενος δ' ἂν ἤϊε ἐπ' ἑτέρην τῶν ἑταίρων· οἱ δὲ, ἅτε Περιάνδρου ἐόντα
52 παῖδα, καίπερ δειμαίνοντες, ὅμως ἐδέκοντο. Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὃς ἂν ἢ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηταί μιν, ἢ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἱρὴν ζημίην τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσην δὴ εἴπας. πρὸς ὦν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα, οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι, οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ἤθελε· πρὸς δὲ, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίευ πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇσι στοῇσι ἐκαλινδέετο. τετάρτῃ δ' ἡμέρῃ ἰδών μιν ὁ Περίανδρος ἀλουσίῃσί τε καὶ ἀσιτίῃσι συμπεπτωκότα, οἴκτειρε· ὑπεὶς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἤϊε ἆσσον καὶ ἔλεγε· "Ὦ παῖ, κότερα τούτων "αἱρετώτερά ἐστι, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ἔχων πρήσσεις, ἢ τὴν "τυραννίδα καὶ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ταῦτα, ἐόντα τῷ "πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεον, παραλαμβάνειν; ὃς ἐὼν ἐμός τε παῖς, "καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς, ἀλήτην βίον "εἵλευ, ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργῇ χρεώμενος ἐς τόν σε "ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν. εἰ γάρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἐγεγόνεε, "ἐξ ἧς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμὲ ἔχεις· ἐμοί τε αὕτη γέγονε, καὶ "ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῦν μέτοχός εἰμι, ὅσῳ αὐτός σφε ἐξεργασάμην. σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῳ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ "ἢ οἰκτείρεσθαι, ἅμα τε ὁκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς "τοὺς κρέσσονας τεθυμῶσθαι, ἄπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία." Περίανδρος μὲν τούτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε· ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἔφη δέ μιν ἱρὴν ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ, ἑωυτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον. Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος ὡς ἄπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν εἴη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται, στείλας πλοῖον, ἐς Κέρκυραν· ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης. ἀποστείλας δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Περίανδρος, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προ-

κλέα, ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ πρηγμάτων ἐόντα αἰτιώτατον· καὶ εἷλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον, εἷλε δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα, καὶ ἐζώγρησε. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος, ὅ τε Πε- 53
ρίανδρος παρηβήκεε, καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἑωυτῷ οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ἀπεκάλεε τὸν Λυκόφρονα ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων οὐκ ἐνεώρα, ἀλλά οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος. ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ἠξίωσε τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην. Περίανδρος δὲ, περιεχόμενος τοῦ νεηνίεω, δεύτερα ἀπέστειλε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεὴν, ἑωυτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἂν πείθεσθαι. ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης, καὶ λεγούσης· "Ὦ παῖ, βούλεαι τήν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσέειν, καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα μᾶλλον, ἢ αὐτός σφε ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν; ἄπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, παῦσαι σεωυτὸν ζημιῶν. φιλοτιμίη, κτῆμα σκαιόν· μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ. πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθέασι· πολλοὶ δὲ ἤδη τὰ μητρῷα διζήμενοι, τὰ πατρῷα ἀπέβαλον. τυραννὶς, χρῆμα σφαλερόν· πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι· ὁ δὲ, γέρων τε ἤδη καὶ παρηβηκώς. μὴ δῷς τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοισι." Ἡ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα, διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ, ὑποκρινάμενος, ἔφη οὐδαμὰ ἥξειν ἐς Κόρινθον, ἔστ' ἂν πυνθάνηται περιεόντα τὸν πατέρα. Ἀπαγγειλάσης δὲ ταύτης ταῦτα, τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει, βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἥκειν· ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐκέλευε ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον, διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος. Καταινέσαντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισι τοῦ παιδὸς, ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος ἐστέλλετο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ παῖς οἱ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἕκαστα, ἵνα μή σφι Περίανδρος ἐς τὴν χώρην ἀπίκηται, κτείνουσι τὸν νεηνίσκον. Ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίανδρος Κερκυραίους ἐτιμωρέετο.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὡς ἀπίκοντο, ἐπο- 54
λιόρκεον Σάμον. προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσσῃ ἑστεῶτος πύργου κατὰ τὸ προάστειον τῆς πόλιος ὑπερέβησαν· μετὰ δὲ, αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος

Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῇ, ἀπηλάσθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν
ἐπάνω πύργον, τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχιος τοῦ οὔρεος ἐπεόντα,
ἐπεξῆλθον οἵ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμίων συχνοί·
δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον χρόνον,
55 ἔφευγον ὀπίσω· οἱ δὲ, ἐπισπόμενοι ἔκτεινον. Εἰ μέν νυν
οἱ παρεόντες Λακεδαιμονίων ὁμοῖοι ἐγίνοντο ταύτην τὴν
ἡμέρην Ἀρχίῃ τε καὶ Λυκώπῃ, αἱρέθη ἂν Σάμος. Ἀρ-
χίης γὰρ καὶ Λυκώπης μοῦνοι συνεσπεσόντες φεύγουσι
ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι, καὶ ἀποκληϊσθέντες τῆς
ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ, ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ πόλι τῇ Σαμίων. τρίτῳ δὲ
ἀπ᾽ Ἀρχίεω τούτου γεγονότι ἄλλῳ Ἀρχίῃ, τῷ Σαμίου
τοῦ Ἀρχίεω, αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγενόμην· δήμου γὰρ
τούτου ἦν· ὃς ξείνων πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίους,
καί οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιον τοὔνομα τεθῆναι, ὅτι οἱ ὁ
πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε· τιμᾶν
δὲ Σαμίους, ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναί οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ
56 ὑπὸ Σαμίων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὥς σφι τεσσεράκοντα
ἐγεγόνεσαν ἡμέραι πολιορκέουσι Σάμον, ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε
οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς
Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ὥρμηται,
λέγεται Πολυκράτεα ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολ-
λὸν μολύβδου, καταχρυσώσαντα δοῦναί σφι· τοὺς δὲ
δεξαμένους, οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. Ταύτην πρώτην
στρατηΐην ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέες ἐποιή-
σαντο.
57 Οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμιων,
ἐπεὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολείπειν ἔμελλον, καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλεον ἐς Σίφνον· χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο· τὰ
δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον,
καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτεον, ἅτε ἐόντων αὐτοῖσι
ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων μετάλλων, οὕτω ὥστε
ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θη-
σαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀνακέεται, ὁμοῖα τοῖσι πλουσιωτά-
τοισι· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἑκάστῳ χρήματα
διενέμοντο. Ὅτε ὦν ἐποιεῦντο τὸν θησαυρὸν, ἐχρέωντο
τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αὐτοῖσι τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ οἷά τε
ἐστι πολὺν χρόνον παραμένειν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔχρησέ σφι
τάδε.

Ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανήϊα λευκὰ γένηται,
λεύκοφρύς τ᾽ ἀγορή, τότε δὴ δεῖ φράδμονος ἀνδρός,
φράσσασθαι ξύλινόν τε λόχον κήρυκά τ᾽ ἐρυθρόν.

Τοῖσι δὲ Σιφνίοισι ἦν τότε ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τὸ πρυτανήϊον
Παρίῳ λίθῳ ἠσκημένα. Τοῦτον τὸν χρησμὸν οὐκ οἷοί 58
τε ἦσαν γνῶναι, οὔτε τότε ἰθύς, οὔτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπιγμέ-
νων. ἐπεί τε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν Σίφνον προσίσχον
οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μίαν, πρέσβεας ἄγουσαν ἐς
τὴν πόλιν. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἅπασαι αἱ νῆες ἦσαν μιλτη-
λιφέες· καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἡ Πυθίη προηγόρευε τοῖσι Σιφνί-
οισι, φυλάξασθαι τὸν ξύλινον λόχον κελεύουσα, καὶ κή-
ρυκα ἐρυθρόν. Ἀπικόμενοι ὦν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐδέοντο τῶν
Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντά σφι χρῆσαι· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ
χρήσειν τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοῖσι, οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους
αὐτῶν ἐπόρθεον. πυθόμενοι δ᾽ ἰθὺς ἧκον οἱ Σίφνιοι βοη-
θέοντες, καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖσι, ἑσσώθησαν· καὶ αὐτῶν
πολλοὶ ἀπεκληΐσθησαν τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων. καὶ
αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἔπρηξαν. Παρὰ δὲ 59
Ἑρμιονέων νῆσον ἀντὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον, Ὑδρέην
τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ αὐτὴν Τροιζηνίοισι παρακατέ-
θεντο· αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν· οὐκ ἐπὶ
τούτῳ πλέοντες, ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελοῦντες ἐκ τῆς νή-
σου. ἔμειναν δ᾽ ἐν ταύτῃ, καὶ εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐπ᾽ ἔτεα
πέντε· ὥστε τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἐόντα νῦν οὗτοί εἰσι
οἱ ποιήσαντες, καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν. ἕκτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ
Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο
μετὰ Κρητῶν· καὶ τῶν νηῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς
πρῴρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν, καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθη-
ναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες
Σαμίοισι Αἰγινῆται. πρότεροι γὰρ Σάμιοι, ἐπ᾽ Ἀμφι-
κράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ᾽ Αἴγι-
ναν, μεγάλα κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αἰγινήτας, καὶ ἔπαθον ὑπ᾽
ἐκείνων. ἡ μὲν αἰτίη αὕτη.

Ἐμήκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφι τρία ἐστὶ 60
μέγιστα ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐξεργασμένα. οὔρεός τε
ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιάς, τούτου ὄρυγ-
μα, κάτωθεν ἀρξάμενον, ἀμφίστομον. τὸ μὲν μῆκος τοῦ
ὀρύγματος, ἑπτὰ στάδιοί εἰσι· τὸ δὲ ὕψος καὶ εὖρος, ὀκτὼ

ἑκάτερον πόδες. διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ὄρυγμα εἰκοσίπηχυ βάθος ὀρώρυκται, τρίπουν δὲ τὸ εὖρος, δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὀχετευόμενον διὰ σωλήνων, παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀγόμενον ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς. ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου ἐγένετο Μεγαρεὺς Εὐπαλῖνος Ναυστρόφου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἓν τῶν τριῶν ἐστί. Δεύτερον δὲ, περὶ λιμένα χῶμα ἐν θαλάσσῃ, βάθος κατὰ εἴκοσι ὀργυιέων· μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος, μέζον δύο σταδίων. Τρίτον δέ σφι ἐξέργασται, νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος ἐγένετο Ῥοῖκος Φίλεω ἐπιχώριος. Τούτων εἵνεκεν μᾶλλόν τι περὶ Σαμίων ἐμήκυνα.

61 Καμβύσῃ δὲ τῷ Κύρου, χρονίζοντι περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ παραφρονήσαντι, ἐπανιστέαται ἄνδρες Μάγοι, δύο ἀδελφεοί· τῶν τὸν ἕτερον καταλελοίπεε τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσης. οὗτος δὴ ὦν οἱ ἐπανέστη, μαθών τε τὸν Σμέρδιος θάνατον, ὡς κρύπτοιτο γενόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὀλίγοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτὸν Περσέων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περιεόντα μιν εἰδείησαν. πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύσας τάδε, ἐπεχείρησε τοῖσι βασιληΐοισι. Ἦν οἱ ἀδελφεὸς, τὸν εἶπά οἱ συνεπαναστῆναι, οἰκὼς μάλιστα τὸ εἶδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν ὁ Καμβύσης, ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν, ἀπέκτεινε· ἦν τε δὴ ὁμοῖος εἶδος τῷ Σμέρδι, καὶ δὴ καὶ οὔνομα τὠυτὸ εἶχε Σμέρδιν. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγνώσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζείθης, ὥς οἱ αὐτὸς πάντα διαπρήξει, εἷσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν βασιλήϊον θρόνον. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, κήρυκας τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διέπεμπε, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, προερέοντα τῷ στρατῷ, ὡς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου
62 ἀκουστέα εἴη τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεω. Οἵ τε δὴ ὦν ἄλλοι κήρυκες προηγόρευον ταῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ταχθεὶς, εὕρισκε γὰρ Καμβύσεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐόντα τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι, προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος, καὶ ἐλπίσας μιν λέγειν ἀληθέα, αὐτός τε προδεδόσθαι ἐκ Πρηξάσπεος, (πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν, οὐ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα,) βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα εἶπε· "Πρήξασπες, "οὕτω μοι διεπρήξαο τό τοι προσέθηκα πρῆγμα;" Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Ὦ δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀληθέα, ὅκως κοτέ

“σοι Σμέρδις ἀδελφεὸς ὁ σὸς ἐπανέστηκε, οὐδὲ ὅκως τι
“ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς νεῖκός τοι ἔσται ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρόν·
“ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς, ποιήσας τὰ σύ με ἐκέλευες, ἔθαψά μιν
“χερσὶ τῇσι ἐμεωυτοῦ. εἰ μέν νυν οἱ τεθνεῶτες ἀνεστέ-
“ασι, προσδέκεό τοι καὶ Ἀστυάγεα τὸν Μῆδον ἐπανα-
“στήσεσθαι· εἰ δ᾽ ἔστι ὥσπερ πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μή τι τοι ἔκ
“γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλαστήσει. νῦν ὦν μοι δοκέει,
“μεταδιώξαντας τὸν κήρυκα, ἐξετάζειν εἰρωτεῦντας παρ᾽
“ὅτευ ἥκων προαγορεύει ἡμῖν Σμέρδιος βασιλέος ἀκού-
“ειν.” Ταῦτα εἴπαντος Πρηξάσπεος, ἤρεσε γὰρ Καμ- 63
βύσῃ, αὐτίκα μεταδίωκτος γενόμενος ὁ κῆρυξ ἧκε. ἀπιγ-
μένον δέ μιν εἴρετο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε· “Ὤνθρωπε, φῂς
“γὰρ ἥκειν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἄγγελος· νῦν ὦν,
“εἴπας τὴν ἀληθηΐην, ἄπιθι χαίρων. κότερα αὐτός τοι
“Σμέρδις φαινόμενος ἐς ὄψιν ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, ἢ τῶν τις
“ἐκείνου ὑπηρετέων;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν
“τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτου βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἤλασε ἐς Αἴ-
“γυπτον, οὔ κω ὄπωπα· ὁ δέ μοι Μάγος, τὸν Καμβύσης
“ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὗτος ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο,
“φὰς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον
“εἶπαι πρὸς ὑμέας.” Ὁ μὲν δή σφι ἔλεγε, οὐδὲν ἐπι-
κατεψευσμένος. Καμβύσης δὲ εἶπε· “Πρήξασπες, σὺ
“μὲν, οἷα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευόμενον, αἰτίην
“ἐκπέφευγας· ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη Περσέων ὁ ἐπανεστεὼς,
“ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε·
“Ἐγώ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο, ὦ βασιλεῦ.
“οἱ Μάγοι εἰσί τοι οἱ ἐπανεστεῶτες, τόν τε ἔλιπες μελε-
“δωνὸν τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζείθης, καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφεὸς
“Σμέρδις.” Ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεα τὸ Σμέρδιος 64
οὔνομα, ἔτυψε ἡ ἀληθηΐη τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου·
ὃς ἐδόκεε ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαί τινά οἱ, ὡς Σμέρδις
ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήϊον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ. μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη τὸν ἀδελ-
φεὸν, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν. ἀποκλαύσας δὲ, καὶ περιημε-
κτήσας τῇ ἁπάσῃ συμφορῇ, ἀναθρώσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον,
ἐν νόῳ ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ
τὸν Μάγον. καί οἱ ἀναθρώσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, τοῦ
κουλεοῦ τοῦ ξίφεος ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει· γυμνωθὲν δὲ τὸ

ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρόν. τρωματισθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ἆπιν ἔπληξε, ὥς οἱ καιρίῃ ἔδοξε τετύφθαι, εἴρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὅ τι τῇ πόλι οὔνομα εἴη. οἳ δὲ εἶπαν ὅτι Ἀγβάτανα. τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος, ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι τελευτήσειν τὸν βίον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι ἐδόκεε τελευτήσειν γηραιὸς, ἐν τοῖσί οἱ ἦν πάντα τὰ πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον τοῖσι ἐν Συρίῃ Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε ἄρα. καὶ δὴ ὡς τότε ἐπειρεόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὔνομα, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος, ἐσωφρόνησε· συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον, εἶπε· “Ἐνθαῦτα “Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτᾶν.”

65 Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα· ἡμέρῃσι δὲ ὕστερον ὡς εἴκοσι μεταπεμψάμενος Περσέων τῶν παρεόντων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· “Ὦ Πέρσαι, καταλελάβηκέ με, “τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἔκρυπτον πρηγμάτων, τοῦτο ἐς “ὑμέας ἐκφῆναι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἐὼν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, εἶδον ὄψιν “ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, τὴν μηδαμὰ ὄφελον ἰδεῖν. ἐδόκεον δέ μοι “ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐξ οἴκου ἀγγέλλειν, ὡς Σμέρδις ἱζό-“μενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήϊον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ “οὐρανοῦ. δείσας δὲ μὴ ἀπαιρεθέω τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ “ἀδελφεοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα· ἐν τῇ γὰρ “ἀνθρωπηΐῃ φύσει οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι “ἀποτρέπειν· ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρηξάσπεα ἀποπέμπω “ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν. ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ “κακοῦ τοσούτου, ἀδεῶς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος “μή κοτέ τίς μοι, Σμέρδιος ὑπαραιρημένου, ἄλλος ἐπα-“ναστaίη ἀνθρώπων. παντὸς δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι “ἁμαρτὼν, ἀδελφεοκτόνος τε, οὐδὲν δέον, γέγονα, καὶ τῆς “βασιληΐης οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐστέρημαι. Σμέρδις γὰρ δὴ “ἦν ὁ Μάγος, τόν μοι ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ἐν τῇ ὄψει “ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξέργασταί μοι, “καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογίζεσθε· “οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι κρατέουσι τῶν βασιληΐων, τόν τε “ἔλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων, καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου ἀδελφεὸς “Σμέρδις. τὸν μέν νυν μάλιστα χρῆν, ἐμεῦ αἰσχρὰ πρὸς “τῶν Μάγων πεπονθότος, τιμωρέειν ἐμοὶ, οὗτος μὲν

"ἀνοσίῳ μόρῳ τετελεύτηκε ὑπὸ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκηϊοτάτων. "Τούτου δὲ μηκέτι ἐόντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὦ "Πέρσαι, γίνεταί μοι ἀναγκαιότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι, τὰ "θέλω μοι γενέσθαι, τελευτῶν τὸν βίον. καὶ δὴ ὑμῖν "τάδε ἐπισκήπτω, θεοὺς τοὺς βασιληΐους ἐπικαλέων, καὶ "πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαιμενιδέων τοῖσι παρε-"οῦσι, μὴ περιϊδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὖτις ἐς Μήδους περι-"ελθοῦσαν· ἀλλ', εἴτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι, "δόλῳ ἀπαιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμέων· εἴτε καὶ σθένεΐ τεῳ κατ-"εργασάμενοι, σθένεϊ κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν ἀνασώσασθαι. "καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῦσι ὑμῖν γῆ τε καρπὸν ἐκφέροι, καὶ "γυναῖκές τε καὶ ποίμνια τίκτοιεν, ἐοῦσι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα "χρόνον ἐλευθέροισι· μὴ ἀνασωσαμένοισι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν, "μηδ' ἐπιχειρήσασι ἀνασώζειν, τὰ ἐναντία τούτοισι ἀρέο-"μαι ὑμῖν γενέσθαι· καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τούτοισι, τὸ τέλος Περ-"σέων ἑκάστῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι οἷον ἐμοὶ ἐπιγέγονε." Ἅμα τε εἴπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πρῆξιν. Πέρσαι δ' ὡς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύ- 66
σαντα, πάντες τά τε ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα εἶχον, ταῦτα κατηρείκοντο, καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἀφθόνῳ διεχρέωντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὡς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον, καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη, ἀπήνεικε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ μῆνας πέντε, ἄπαιδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἐόντα ἔρσενος καὶ θήλεος γόνου. Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι παρεοῦσι ἀπιστίη πολλὴ ὑπεκέχυτο, τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα· ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο ἐπὶ διαβολῇ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα τὰ εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος θανάτου, ἵνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῇ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν. οὗτοι μέν νυν ἠπιστέατο Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ἀνεστεῶτα· δεινῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πρηξάσπης ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι Σμέρδιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ ἀσφαλὲς, Καμβύσεω τετελευτηκότος, φάναι τὸν Κύρου υἱὸν ἀπολωλεκέναι αὐτοχειρίῃ.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Μάγος, τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσεω, ἀδεῶς 67
ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύσῃ ἐς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος. ἐν τοῖσι ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, πάρεξ αὐτῶν

Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἦρχε, προεῖπε ἀτελη̈ίην εἶναι στρατηΐης καὶ φόρου ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία. προεῖπε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἐνιστάμενος ἐς

68 τὴν ἀρχήν. Ὀγδόῳ δὲ μηνὶ ἐγένετο κατάδηλος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ὀτάνης ἦν Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς, γένεϊ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὁμοῖος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. οὗτος ὁ Ὀτάνης πρῶτος ὑπόπτευσε τὸν Μάγον, ὡς οὐκ εἴη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἦν· τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἐξεφοίτα ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν ἑωυτῷ οὐδένα τῶν λογίμων Περσέων. ὑποπτεύσας δέ μιν, ἐποίεε τάδε. Ἔσχε αὐτοῦ ὁ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φαιδίμη· τὴν αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἶχε τότε ὁ Μάγος, καὶ ταύτῃ τε συνοίκεε, καὶ τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πάσῃσι τῇσι τοῦ Καμβύσεω γυναιξί. πέμπων δὴ ὦν ὁ Ὀτάνης παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα, ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' ὅτεῳ ἀνθρώπων κοιμῷτο, εἴτε μετὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, εἴτε μετὰ ἄλλου τευ. ἡ δέ οἱ ἀντέπεμπε, φαμένη οὐ γινώσκειν· οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ἰδέσθαι οὐδαμὰ, οὔτε ὅστις εἴη ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῇ εἰδέναι. ἔπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὀτάνης, λέγων· "Εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώ-"σκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πύθευ ὅτεῳ τούτῳ συνοι-"κέει αὐτή τε ἐκείνη, καὶ σύ. πάντως γὰρ δή κου τόν "γε ἑωυτῆς ἀδελφεὸν γινώσκει." Ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ θυγάτηρ· "Οὔτε Ἀτόσσῃ δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, "οὔτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν ἰδέσθαι τῶν συγκατημένων γυναι-"κῶν· ἐπεί τε γὰρ τάχιστα οὗτος ὥνθρωπος, ὅστις κοτέ "ἐστι, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληΐην, διέσπειρε ἡμέας, ἄλλην

69 "ἄλλῃ τάξας." Ἀκούοντι δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ὀτάνῃ, μᾶλλον κατεφαίνετο τὸ πρῆγμα. τρίτην δὲ ἀγγελίην ἐσπέμπει παρ' αὐτὴν, λέγουσαν ταῦτα· "Ὦ θύγατερ, δεῖ σε, γεγο-"νυῖαν εὖ, κίνδυνον ἀναλαβέσθαι τὸν ἂν ὁ πατὴρ ὑποδύ-"ειν κελεύῃ. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μή ἐστι ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις, ἀλλὰ "τὸν καταδοκέω ἐγὼ, οὔτοι μιν, σοί τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ "τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχοντα, δεῖ χαίροντα ἀπαλλάσσειν, "ἀλλὰ δοῦναι δίκην. νῦν ὦν ποίησον τάδε· ἐπεάν σοι "συνεύδῃ, καὶ μάθῃς αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, ἄφασσον αὐ-"τοῦ τὰ ὦτα. καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνηται ἔχων ὦτα, νόμιζε "σεωυτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικέειν· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔχων,

"σὺ δὲ τῷ μάγῳ Σμέρδι." Ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ Φαιδίμη, φαμένη κινδυνεύσειν μεγάλως, ἢν ποιῇ ταῦτα. ἢν γὰρ δὴ μὴ τυγχάνῃ τὰ ὦτα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπτος δὲ ἀφάσσουσα ἔσται, εὖ εἰδέναι ὡς ἀϊστώσει μιν· ὅμως μέντοι ποιήσειν ταῦτα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο ταῦτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω ἄρχων τὰ ὦτα ἀπέτεμε ἐπ' αἰτίῃ δή τινι οὐ σμικρῇ. Ἡ ὦν δὴ Φαιδίμη αὕτη, ἡ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρὶ, ἐπεί τε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τὸν Μάγον, (ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτέουσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι,) ἐλθοῦσα παρ' αὐτὸν ηὗδε. ὑπνωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου, ἤφασσε τὰ ὦτα. μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἀλλ' εὐπετέως, οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὦτα, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, πέμψασα ἐσήμηνε τῷ πατρὶ τὰ γενόμενα.

70 Ὁ δὲ Ὀτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίνην καὶ Γωβρύην, Περσέων τε πρώτους ἐόντας καὶ ἑωυτῷ ἐπιτηδεωτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγήσατο πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρα ὑπόπτευον οὕτω τοῦτο ἔχειν. ἀνενείκαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω τοὺς λόγους, ἐδέξαντο· καὶ ἔδοξέ σφι, ἕκαστον ἄνδρα Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι τοῦτον, τῷ πιστεύει μάλιστα. Ὀτάνης μέν νυν εἰσάγεται Ἰνταφέρνεα· Γωβρύης δὲ, Μεγάβυζον· Ἀσπαθίνης δὲ, Ὑδάρνεα. γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἓξ, παραγίνεται ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, ἐκ Περσέων ἥκων· τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ ὕπαρχος. ἐπεὶ ὦν οὗτος ἀπίκετο, τοῖσι ἓξ τῶν Περσέων ἔδοξε καὶ Δαρεῖον προσεταιρίσασθαι.

71 Συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι, ἐόντες ἑπτὰ, ἐδίδοσάν σφισι πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐς Δαρεῖον ἀπίκετο γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· "Ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς "μοῦνος ἐπίστασθαι, ὅτι τε ὁ Μάγος εἴη ὁ βασιλεύων, "καὶ Σμέρδις ὁ Κύρου τετελεύτηκε· καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου "εἵνεκεν ἥκω σπουδῇ, ὡς συστήσων ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνα-"τον. ἐπεί τε δὲ συνήνεικε ὥστε καὶ ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ "μὴ μοῦνον ἐμὲ, ποιέειν αὐτίκα μοι δοκέει, καὶ μὴ ὑπερ-"βάλλεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον." Εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὀτάνης· "Ὦ παῖ Ὑστάσπεος, εἷς τε πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ ἐκ-

“φαίνειν ἔοικας σεωυτὸν ἐόντα τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἥσσω.
“τὴν μέντοι ἐπιχείρησιν ταύτην μὴ οὕτω συντάχυνε
“ἀβούλως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον αὐτὴν λάμβανε·
“δεῖ γὰρ πλεῦνας γενομένους, οὕτω ἐπιχειρέειν.” Λέγει
πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος· “Ἄνδρες οἱ παρεόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ
“εἰρημένῳ ἐξ Ὀτάνεω εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπο-
“λέεσθε κάκιστα· ἐξοίσει γάρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἰδίῃ
“περιβαλλόμενος ἑωυτῷ κέρδεα. μάλιστα μέν νυν ὠφεί-
“λετε ἐπ᾽ ὑμέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι ποιέειν ταῦτα· ἐπεί
“τε δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῦνας ἐδόκεε, καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερέ-
“θεσθε, ἢ ποιέωμεν σήμερον, ἢ ἴστε, ὑμῖν ὅτι ἢν ὑπερ-
“πέσῃ ἡ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος φθὰς ἐμεῦ κατήγορος
“ἔσται, ἀλλά σφεα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατερέω πρὸς τὸν Μάγον.”
72 Λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Ὀτάνης, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα σπερχόμενον Δα-
ρεῖον· “Ἐπεί τε ἡμέας συνταχύνειν ἀναγκάζεις, καὶ ὑπερ-
“βάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἐᾷς, ἴθι ἐξηγέο αὐτὸς ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ πάρι-
“μεν ἐς τὰ βασιλήϊα, καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτοῖσι. φυλα-
“κὰς γὰρ δὴ διεστεώσας οἶδάς κου καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰ μὴ ἰδὼν,
“ἀλλ᾽ ἀκούσας· ἃς τέῳ τρόπῳ περήσομεν;” Ἀμείβεται
Δαρεῖος τοῖσδε· “Ὀτάνη, ἦ πολλά ἐστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ
“οἷά τε δηλῶσαι, ἔργῳ δέ· ἄλλα δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἷά
“τε, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται. ὑμεῖς
“δὲ ἴστε φυλακὰς τὰς κατεστεώσας ἐούσας οὐδὲν χαλε-
“πὰς παρελθεῖν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ἡμέων ἐόντων τοιῶν,
“οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ παρήσει· τὰ μέν κου καταιδεόμενος
“ἡμέας, τὰ δέ κου καὶ δειμαίνων. τοῦτο δὲ, ἔχω αὐτὸς
“σκῆψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην, τῇ πάριμεν· φὰς ἄρτι τε ἥκειν
“ἐκ Περσέων, καὶ βούλεσθαί τι ἔπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
“σημῆναι τῷ βασιλέϊ. ἔνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι,
“λεγέσθω. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα, οἵ τε ψευδόμενοι,
“καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθηΐῃ διαχρεώμενοι. οἱ μέν γε ψεύδονται
“τότε, ἐπεάν τι μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδή-
“σεσθαι· οἱ δ᾽ ἀληθίζονται, ἵνα τι τῇ ἀληθηΐῃ ἐπισπά-
“σωνται κέρδος, καί τι μᾶλλόν σφι ἐπιτράπηται. οὕτω
“οὐ ταὐτὰ ἀσκέοντες, τὠυτοῦ περιεχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν
“κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὁμοίως ἂν ὅ τε ἀληθιζόμενος,
“ψευδὴς εἴη, καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος, ἀληθής. ὃς ἂν μέν νυν
“τῶν πυλουρῶν ἑκὼν παρίῃ, αὐτῷ οἱ ἄμεινον ἐς χρόνον

"ἔσται· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀντιβαίνειν πειρᾶται, διαδεικνύσθω ἐν-
"θαῦτα ἐὼν πολέμιος· καὶ ἔπειτα ὠσάμενοι ἔσω, ἔργου
"ἐχώμεθα."

Λέγει Γωβρύης μετὰ ταῦτα· "Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἡμῖν 73
"κότε κάλλιον παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἤ, εἴ γε
"μὴ οἷοί τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβέειν, ἀποθανέειν; ὅτε
"γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν, ἐόντες Πέρσαι, ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς
"Μάγου, καὶ τούτου ὦτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. ὅσοι τε ὑμέων
"Καμβύσῃ νοσέοντι παρεγένοντο, πάντως κου μέμνησθε
"τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσῃσι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον, μὴ πειρεω-
"μένοισι ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδε-
"κόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολῇ ἐδοκέομεν εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα.
"Νῦν ὦν τίθεμαι ψῆφον πείθεσθαι Δαρείῳ, καὶ μὴ
"διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου ἀλλ' ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον
"ἰθέως." Ταῦτα εἶπε Γωβρύης· καὶ πάντες ταῦτα αἴνεον.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, ἐγίνετο κατὰ συν- 74
τυχίην τάδε. Τοῖσι Μάγοισι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι Πρη-
ξάσπεα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐπεπόνθεε πρὸς Καμ-
βύσεω ἀνάρσια, ὅς οἱ τὸν παῖδα τοξεύσας ἀπολωλέκεε·
καὶ διότι μοῦνος ἠπίστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνα-
τον, αὐτοχειρίῃ μιν ἀπολέσας· πρὸς δ' ἔτι, ἐόντα ἐν αἴνῃ
μεγίστῃ τὸν Πρηξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσῃσι. τούτων δή μιν
εἵνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτέωντο, πίστι τε λαβόν-
τες καὶ ὁρκίοισι, ἦ μὲν ἕξειν παρ' ἑωυτῷ, μηδ' ἐξοίσειν
μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας
γεγονυῖαν· ὑπισχνεύμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν.
ὑποδεκομένου δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ὡς
ἀνέπεισάν μιν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν
φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλήϊον
τεῖχος, κεῖνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργον ἀγορεῦ-
σαι, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἄρχονται, καὶ ὑπ' οὐδε-
νὸς ἄλλου. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλλοντο, ὡς πιστοτάτου
δῆθεν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξα-
μένου γνώμην ὡς περιείη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις, καὶ ἐξαρνη-
σαμένου τὸν φόνον αὐτοῦ. Φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἑτοίμου 75
εἶναι ποιέειν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεω, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ
Μάγοι, ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πύργον, καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέ-
λευον. Ὁ δὲ, τῶν μέντοι ἐκεῖνοι προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ,

τούτων μὲν ἑκὼν ἐπελήθετο· ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀχαιμένεος, ἐγενεηλόγησε τὴν πατριὴν τὴν Κύρου· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς ἐς τοῦτον κατέβη, τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κῦρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι· διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθηΐην, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρύπτειν· (οὐ γάρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρεόντι ἀναγκαίην μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγε, τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν. Πέρσῃσι δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρησάμενος, εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησαίατο ὀπίσω τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαίατο, ἀπῆκε ἑωυτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. Πρηξάσπης μέν νυν, ἐὼν τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε.

76 Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσέων, ὡς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι Μάγοισι καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἤϊσαν εὐξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηχθέντων εἰδότες οὐδέν. ἔν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο. ἐνθαῦτα ἐκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐδίδοσαν αὖτις σφισι λόγους· οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀτάνην πάγχυ κελεύοντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι, μηδὲ, οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἐπιτίθεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον, αὐτίκα τε ἰέναι, καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ποιέειν, μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. ὠθιζομένων δ' αὐτῶν, ἐφάνη ἰρήκων ἑπτὰ ζεύγεα, δύο αἰγυπιῶν ζεύγεα διώκοντά τε καὶ τίλλοντα καὶ ἀμύσσοντα. ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἑπτὰ, τήν τε Δαρείου πάντες αἴνεον γνώμην, καὶ ἔπειτα ἤϊσαν ἐπὶ τὰ

77 βασιλήϊα, τεθαρσηκότες τοῖσι ὄρνισι. Ἐπιστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγίνετο οἷόν τι Δαρείῳ ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε· καταιδεόμενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρώτους, καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, παρίεσαν, θείῃ πομπῇ χρεωμένους· οὐδ' ἐπειρώτα οὐδείς. ἐπεί τε δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν, ἐνέκυρσαν τοῖσι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρουσι εὐνούχοισι, οἵ σφεας ἱστόρεον ὅ τι θέλοντες ἥκοιεν· καὶ ἅμα ἱστορέοντες τούτους, τοῖσι πυλουροῖσι ἀπείλεον, ὅτι σφέας παρῆκαν· ἴσχον τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἐς τὸ πρόσω παριέναι. οἱ δὲ, διακελευσάμενοι, καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια, τούτους μὲν

τοὺς ἴσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συγκεντέουσι· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἤϊσαν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα. Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφότεροι 78 τηνικαῦτα ἐόντες τε ἔσω, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Πρηξάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ ὦν εἶδον τοὺς εὐνούχους τεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιεύμενον, πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο. ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος· ὁ δὲ, πρὸς τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐτράπετο. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι. τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντι αὐτῶν, ἐόντων τε ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσκειμένων, ἦν χρηστὰ οὐδέν. ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἠμύνετο, καὶ τοῦτο μεν Ἀσπαθίνην παίει ἐς τὸν μηρὸν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφέρνεα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ὁ Ἰνταφέρνης, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέθανέ γε. τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὕτερος τρωματίζει τούτους· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ἐπεί τέ οἱ τὰ τόξα οὐδὲν χρηστὰ ἐγένετο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τοῦτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας· καί οἱ συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἑπτὰ δύο, Δαρεῖός τε καὶ Γωβρύης. συμπλακέντος δὲ Γωβρύεω τῷ Μάγῳ, ὁ Δαρεῖός ἐπεστεὼς ἠπόρει, οἷα ἐν σκότεϊ προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γωβρύην. ὁρέων δέ μιν ἀργὸν ἐπεστεῶτα ὁ Γωβρύης, εἴρετο ὅ τι οὐ χρᾶται τῇ χερί· ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Προμηθεόμενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω." Γωβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο· "Ὦθει καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τὸ "ξίφος." Δαρεῖος δὲ πειθόμενος, ὦσέ τε τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

Ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους, καὶ ἀποταμόντες αὐ- 79 τῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς μὲν τρωματίας ἑωυτῶν αὐτοῦ λείπουσι, καὶ ἀδυνασίης εἵνεκεν, καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος· οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς, ἔθεον ἔξω, βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ χρεώμενοι, καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐξηγεόμενοί τε τὸ πρῆγμα, καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλάς· καὶ ἅμα ἔκτεινον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, μαθόντες τό τε γεγονὸς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐδικαίευν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιέειν· σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια, ἔκτεινον ὅκου τινὰ Μάγον εὕρισκον· εἰ δὲ μὴ νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἔσχε, ἔλιπον ἂν οὐδένα

Μάγον. Ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι κοινῇ
μάλιστα τῶν ἡμερέων· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁρτὴν μεγάλην ἀνά-
γουσι, ἣ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων Μαγοφόνια· ἐν τῇ Μά-
γον οὐδένα ἔξεστι φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἴκους
ἑωυτοὺς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέρην ταύτην.

80 Ἐπεί τε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος, καὶ ἐκτὸς πέντε ἡμε-
ρέων ἐγένετο, ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μάγοισι
περὶ τῶν πρηγμάτων πάντων· καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπι-
στοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν. Ὀτάνης
μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα,
λέγων τάδε· "Ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἕνα μὲν ἡμέων μούναρχον
"μηκέτι γενέσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδὺ, οὔτε ἀγαθόν. εἴδετε
"μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβύσεω ὕβριν ἐπ' ὅσον ἐπεξῆλθε, μετε-
"σχήκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὕβριος. Κῶς δ' ἂν εἴη
"χρῆμα κατηρτημένον μουναρχίη, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῳ
"ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν
"πάντων, στάντα ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθό-
"των νοημάτων στήσειε. ἐγγίνεται μὲν γάρ οἱ ὕβρις
"ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχῆθεν ἐμφύ-
"εται ἀνθρώπῳ. δύο δ' ἔχων ταῦτα, ἔχει πᾶσαν κακό-
"τητα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ, ὕβρι κεκορημένος, ἔρδει πολλὰ καὶ
"ἀτάσθαλα· τὰ δὲ, φθόνῳ. καίτοι ἄνδρα γε τύραννον
"ἄφθονον ἔδει εἶναι, ἔχοντά γε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά· τὸ δ'
"ὑπεναντίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς πολιήτας πέφυκε. φθονέει
"γὰρ τοῖσι ἀρίστοισι περιεοῦσί τε καὶ ζώουσι, χαίρει δὲ
"τοῖσι κακίστοισι τῶν ἀστῶν, διαβολὰς δὲ ἄριστος ἐν-
"δέκεσθαι, ἀναρμοστότατος δὲ πάντων· ἤν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν
"μετρίως θωυμάζῃς, ἄχθεται ὅτι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται·
"ἤν τε θεραπεύῃ τις κάρτα, ἄχθεται ἅτε θωπί. τὰ δὲ
"δὴ μέγιστα ἔρχομαι ἐρέων· νόμαιά τε κινεῖ πάτρια, καὶ
"βιᾶται γυναῖκας, κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. Πλῆθος δὲ ἄρχον
"πρῶτα μὲν οὔνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομίην·
"δεύτερα δὲ, τούτων τῶν ὁ μούναρχος ποιέει οὐδέν. πάλῳ
"μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄρχει, ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει, βουλεύματα
"δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει. Τίθεμαι ὦν γνώμην,
"μετέντας ἡμέας μουναρχίην, τὸ πλῆθος ἀέξειν· ἐν γὰρ
"τῷ πολλῷ ἔνι τὰ πάντα." Ὀτάνης μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν
81 γνώμην ἐσέφερε. Μεγάβυζος δὲ ὀλιγαρχίῃ ἐκέλευε ἐπι-

τράπειν, λέγων τάδε· "Τὰ μὲν Ὀτάνης εἶπε, τυραννίδα "παύων, λελέχθω κἀμοὶ ταῦτα· τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἄνωγε "φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε. ὁμί- "λου γὰρ ἀχρηΐου οὐδέν ἐστι ἀξυνετώτερον, οὐδὲ ὑβρι- "στότερον· καί τοι τυράννου ὕβριν φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐς "δήμου ἀκολάστου ὕβριν πεσέειν ἐστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχε- "τόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ, εἴ τι ποιέει, γινώσκων ποιέει· τῷ δὲ "οὐ γινώσκειν ἔνι. κῶς γὰρ ἂν γινώσκοι, ὃς οὔτ' ἐδι- "δάχθη, οὔτε οἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν, οὐδ' οἰκήϊον; ὠθέει τε "ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ "ἴκελος; Δήμῳ μέν νυν, οἳ Πέρσῃσι κακὸν νοέουσι, οὗτοι "χράσθων. ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες "ὁμιλίην, τούτοισι περιθέωμεν τὸ κρατος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τού- "τοισι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνεσόμεθα. ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἰκος "ἄριστα βουλεύματα γίνεσθαι." Μεγάβυζος μὲν δὴ ταύ- την γνώμην ἐσέφερε. Τρίτος δὲ Δαρεῖος ἀπεδείκνυτο γνώ- 82
μην, λέγων· "Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε Μεγάβυζος ἐς τὸ πλῆ- "θος ἔχοντα, δοκέει ὀρθῶς λέξαι· τὰ δ' ἐς ὀλιγαρχίην, οὐκ "ὀρθῶς. Τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων, καὶ πάντων τῶν λέγω "ἀρίστων ἐόντων, δήμου τε ἀρίστου, καὶ ὀλιγαρχίης, καὶ "μουνάρχου, πολλῷ τοῦτο προέχειν λέγω. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ "ἑνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἂν φανείη· γνώμῃ γὰρ "τοιαύτῃ χρεώμενος, ἐπιτροπεύοι ἂν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλή- "θεος· σιγῷτό τε ἂν βουλεύματα ἐπὶ δυσμενέας ἄνδρας "οὕτω μάλιστα. ἐν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίῃ, πολλοῖσι ἀρετὴν ἐπα- "σκέουσι ἐς τὸ κοινὸν, ἔχθεα ἴδια ἰσχυρὰ φιλέει ἐγγίνε- "σθαι. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι "γνώμῃσι τε νικᾶν, ἐς ἔχθεα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι ἀπικνέ- "ονται· ἐξ ὧν στάσιες ἐγγίνονται· ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασίων, "φόνος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου, ἀπέβη ἐς μουναρχίην· καὶ ἐν "τούτῳ διέδεξε, ὅσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἄριστον. Δήμου τε αὖ "ἄρχοντος, ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι. κακό- "τητος τοίνυν ἐγγινομένης ἐς τὰ κοινὰ, ἔχθεα μὲν οὐκ "ἐγγίνεται τοῖσι κακοῖσι, φιλίαι δὲ ἰσχυραί· οἱ γὰρ κα- "κοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ, συγκύψαντες ποιεῦσι. τοῦτο δὲ τοι- "οῦτο γίνεται, ἐς ὃ ἂν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιού- "τους παύσῃ. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωυμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ "τοῦ δήμου· θωυμαζόμενος δὲ, ἀν' ὧν ἐφάνη μούναρχος

"ἐών· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δηλοῖ καὶ οὗτος ὡς ἡ μουναρχίη κρά-"τιστον. Ἑνὶ δὲ ἔπεϊ πάντα συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν, κόθεν "ἡμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερίη ἐγένετο; καὶ τεῦ δόντος; κότερα παρὰ "δήμου, ἢ ὀλιγαρχίης, ἢ μουνάρχου; Ἔχω τοίνυν γνώ-"μην, ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἕνα ἄνδρα, τὸ τοιοῦτο "περιστέλλειν· χωρίς τε τούτου, πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύ-"ειν ἔχοντας εὖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον."

83 Γνῶμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὗται προεκέατο· οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταύτῃ. Ὡς δὲ ἑσσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὀτάνης, Πέρσῃσι ἰσονομίην σπεύδων ποιῆσαι, ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον αὐτοῖσι τάδε· "Ἄνδρες στασιῶται, δῆλα "γὰρ δὴ ὅτι δεῖ ἕνα γέ τινα ἡμέων βασιλέα γενέσθαι, "ἤτοι κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἢ ἐπιτρεψάντων τῷ Περσέων "πλήθεϊ τὸν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἕλωνται, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ μηχανῇ· "ἐγὼ μέν νυν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐναγωνιεῦμαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἄρχειν "οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἐθέλω. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς "ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἄρξομαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς "ἐγώ, οὔτε οἱ ἀπ' ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινόμενοι." Τούτου εἴπαντος ταῦτα, ὡς συνεχώρεον οἱ ἓξ ἐπὶ τούτοισι, οὗτος μὲν δή σφι οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθῆστο. Καὶ νῦν αὕτη ἡ οἰκίη διατελέει μούνη ἐλευθέρη ἐοῦσα Περσέων, καὶ ἄρχεται τοσαῦτα ὅσα αὐτὴ θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαί-

84 νουσα τοὺς Περσέων. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς βασιλέα δικαιότατα στήσονται· καί σφι ἔδοξε, Ὀτάνῃ μὲν καὶ τοῖσι ἀπὸ Ὀτάνεω αἰεὶ γινομένοισι, ἢν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔλθῃ ἡ βασιληΐη, ἐξαίρετα δίδοσθαι ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ἔτεος ἑκάστου, καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεὴν ἢ γίνεται ἐν Πέρσῃσι τιμιωτάτη. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἐβουλεύσαντό οἱ δίδοσθαι ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσέ τε πρῶτος τὸ πρῆγμα, καὶ συνέστησε αὐτούς. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ὀτάνῃ ἐξαίρετα. Τάδε δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβούλευσαν· παριέναι ἐς τὰ βασιλήϊα πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν ἑπτὰ ἄνευ ἐσαγγελέος, ἢν μὴ τυγχάνῃ εὕδων μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεύς· γαμέειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἄλλοθεν τῷ βασιλέϊ ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων. περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιληΐης ἐβουλεύσαντο τοιόνδε· ὅτευ ἂν ὁ ἵππος ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος πρῶτος φθέγξηται ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληΐην.

Δαρείῳ δὲ ἦν ἱπποκόμος, ἀνὴρ σοφὸς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν 85
Οἰβάρης. πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπεί τε διελύθησαν, ἔλεξε Δαρεῖος τάδε· "Οἴβαρες, ἡμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τῆς "βασιληΐης ποιέειν κατὰ τάδε· ὅτευ ἂν ὁ ἵππος πρῶτος "φθέγξηται ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι, αὐτῶν ἐπαναβεβηκό-"των, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληΐην. νῦν ὦν, εἴ τινα ἔχεις "σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας, "καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τις." Ἀμείβεται Οἰβάρης τοῖσδε· "Εἰ "μὲν δὴ, ὦ δέσποτα, ἐν τούτῳ τοί ἐστι ἢ βασιλέα εἶναι "ἢ μὴ, θάρσεε τούτου εἵνεκεν, καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· ὡς "βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σεῦ ἔσται· τοιαῦτα ἔχω "φάρμακα." Λέγει Δαρεῖος· "Εἰ τοίνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις "σόφισμα, ὥρη μηχανᾶσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι· ὡς "τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρης ὁ ἀγὼν ἡμῖν ἐστι." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Οἰβάρης, ποιέει τοιόνδε· ὡς ἐγίνετο ἡ νὺξ, τῶν θηλέων ἵππων μίαν, τὴν ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος ἔστεργε μάλιστα, ταύτην ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὸ προάστειον, κατέδησε, καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον· καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ περιῆγε ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἵππῳ, ἐγχρίπτων τῇ θηλέῃ· τέλος δὲ, ἐπῆκε ὀχεῦσαι τὸν ἵππον. Ἅμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ, οἱ ἓξ, 86
κατὰ συνεθήκαντο, παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων. διεξελαυνόντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ὡς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐγίνοντο ἵνα τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς κατεδέδετο ἡ θήλεα ἵππος, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος προσδραμὼν ἐχρεμέτισε· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦτο ποιήσαντι, ἀστραπὴ ἐξ αἰθρίης καὶ βροντὴ ἐγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρείῳ, ἐτελέωσέ μιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα· οἱ δὲ, καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, προσεκύνεον τὸν Δαρεῖον [ὡς βασιλέα].

Οἱ μὲν δή φασι τὸν Οἰβάρεα ταῦτα μηχανήσασθαι· 87
οἱ δὲ, τοιάδε· (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων·) ὡς τῆς ἵππου ταύτης τῶν ἄρθρων ἐπιψαύσας τῇ χειρὶ, ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρύψας ἐν τῇσι ἀναξυρίσι· ὡς δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι ἀπίεσθαι μέλλειν τοὺς ἵππους, τὸν Οἰβάρεα τοῦτον ἐξείραντα τὴν χεῖρα, πρὸς τοῦ Δαρείου ἵππου τοὺς μυκτῆρας προσενεῖκαι· τὸν δὲ, αἰσθόμενον, φριμάξασθαί τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι.

Δαρεῖός τε δὴ, ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεκτο· 88

καί οἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάντες κατήκοοι, πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεψαμένου, καὶ ὕστερον αὖτις Καμβύσεω. Ἀράβιοι δὲ οὐδαμὰ κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνῃ Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ ξεῖνοι ἐγένοντο, παρέντες Καμβύσεα ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον· ἀεκόντων γὰρ Ἀραβίων οὐκ ἂν ἐσβάλοιεν Πέρσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον. Γάμους τε τοὺς πρώτους ἐγάμεε Πέρσῃσι ὁ Δαρεῖος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας, Ἄτοσσάν τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνην· τὴν μὲν Ἄτοσσαν, προσυνοικήσασαν Καμβύσῃ τε τῷ ἀδελφεῷ καὶ αὖτις τῷ Μάγῳ· τὴν δὲ Ἀρτυστώνην, παρθένον. ἑτέρην δὲ, Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα, ἔγημε, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Πάρμυς. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγατέρα, ἣ τὸν Μάγον κατάδηλον ἐποίησε. δυνάμιός τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιπλέατο. Πρῶτον μέν νυν τύπον ποιησάμενος λίθινον, ἔστησε· ζῶον δέ οἱ ἐνῆν, ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς· ἐπέγραψε δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ Ὁ ὙΣΤΑΣΠΕΟΣ ΣΥΝ ΤΕ ΤΟΥ ἹΠΠΟΥ Τῌ ΑΡΕΤῌ (*τὸ οὔνομα λέγων*) ΚΑΙ ΟΙΒΑΡΕΟΣ ΤΟΥ ἹΠΠΟΚΟΜΟΥ, ἘΚΤΗΣΑΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΣΕ-

89 ΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΙΗΝ. *Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Πέρσῃσι, ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπηΐας. καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας, ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεά τε, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσων, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας, ἄλλοισι ἄλλα τὰ ἑκαστέρω ἔθνεα νέμων. Ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσοδον τὴν ἐπέτεον κατὰ τάδε διεῖλε. τοῖσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέουσι, εἴρητο Βαβυλώνιον σταθμὸν τάλαντον ἀπαγινέειν· τοῖσι δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγινέουσι, Εὐβοϊκόν. τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοΐδας ἑβδομήκοντα μνέας. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἄρχοντος, καὶ αὖτις Καμβύσεω, ἦν κατεστηκὸς οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι, ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνεον. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπίταξιν τοῦ φόρου, καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ ἄλλα, λέγουσι Πέρσαι, ὡς Δαρεῖος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος· Καμβύσης δὲ, δεσπότης· Κῦρος δὲ, πατήρ· ὁ μὲν, ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα· ὁ δὲ, ὅτι χαλεπός τε ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος· ὁ δὲ, ὅτι ἤπιός τε, καὶ ἀγαθά σφι πάντα ἐμηχα-*

90 *νήσατο. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων, καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ Αἰολέων, καὶ Καρῶν, καὶ Λυκίων, καὶ Μιλυέ-*

ων, καὶ Παμφύλων, (εἷς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένος φόρος οὗτος,) προσήϊε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος οὗτός οἱ νομὸς κατεστήκεε. Ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν, καὶ Λυδῶν, καὶ Λασονίων, καὶ Καβαλίων, καὶ Ὑγεννέων, πεντακόσια τάλαντα. νομὸς δευτέρος οὗτος. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντίων, τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι, καὶ Φρυγῶν, καὶ Θρηΐκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ Παφλαγόνων, καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν, καὶ Συρίων, ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια ἦν τάλαντα φόρος. νομὸς τρίτος οὗτος. Ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλίκων, ἵπποι τε λευκοὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἑκάστης ἡμέρης εἷς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια· τούτων τεσσεράκοντα μὲν καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν φρουρέουσαν ἵππον τὴν Κιλικίην χώρην ἀναισιμοῦτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα Δαρείῳ ἐφοίτα. νομὸς τέταρτος οὗτος.
Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσειδηΐου πόλιος, τὴν Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω 91
οἴκισε ἐπ' οὔροισι τοῖσι Κιλίκων τε καὶ Σύρων, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλὴν μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων, (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα,) πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα, καὶ Συρίη ἡ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη, καὶ Κύπρος. νομὸς πέμπτος οὗτος. Ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου δὲ, καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτῳ. καὶ Κυρήνης τε καὶ Βάρκης, (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὗται ἐκεκοσμέατο.) ἑπτακόσια προσήϊε τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου, τὸ ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων. τούτου τε δὴ χωρὶς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπιμετρουμένου σίτου προσήϊε ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα· πρὸς γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάσι Περσέων τε τοῖσι ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχεϊ τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένοισι καταμετρέουσι, καὶ τοῖσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι. νομὸς ἕκτος οὗτος. Σατταγύδαι δὲ, καὶ Γανδάριοι, καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται, ἐς τὠὐτὸ τεταγμένοι, ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα προσέφερον· νομὸς οὗτος ἕβδομος. ἀπὸ Σούσων δὲ, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσίων χώρης, τριηκόσια· νομὸς ὄγδοος οὗτος.
Ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης, χίλιά 92
οἱ προσήϊε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ παῖδες ἐκτομίαι πεντακόσιοι· νομὸς εἴνατος οὗτος. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀγβατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς, καὶ Παρικανίων, καὶ Ὀρθοκορυβαν-

τίων, πεντήκοντά τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δέ-
κατος οὗτος. Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Παυσίκαι, Παντίμαθοί τε
καὶ Δαρεῖται, ἐς τὠυτὸ συμφέροντες, διηκόσια τάλαντα
ἀπαγίνεον. νομὸς ἑνδέκατος οὗτος. Ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν
δὲ μέχρι Αἰγλῶν, ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος
93 ἦν. νομὸς δυωδέκατος οὗτος. Ἀπὸ Πακτυϊκῆς δὲ, καὶ
Ἀρμενίων, καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ
Εὐξείνου, τετρακόσια τάλαντα. νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκα-
τος οὗτος. Ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων, καὶ Σαραγγέων, καὶ Θα-
μαναίων, καὶ Οὐτίων, καὶ Μύκων, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇσι νήσοισι
οἰκεόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς
ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεὺς, ἀπὸ τού-
των πάντων ἑξακόσια τάλαντα ἐγίνετο φόρος. νομὸς
τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι
πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀγίνεον τάλαντα. νομὸς πέμ-
πτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Πάρθοι δὲ, καὶ Χοράσμιοι, καὶ
Σόγδοι τε καὶ Ἄρειοι, τριηκόσια τάλαντα. νομὸς ἕκτος
94 καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Παρικάνιοι δὲ, καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ
τῆς Ἀσίης, τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἕβδο-
μος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ, καὶ Σάσπειρσι,
καὶ Ἀλαροδίοισι διηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα. νομὸς
ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Μόσχοισι δὲ, καὶ Τιβαρην-
οῖσι, καὶ Μάκρωσι, καὶ Μοσσυνοίκοισι, καὶ Μαρσὶ, τριη-
κόσια τάλαντα προείρητο. νομὸς εἴνατος καὶ δέκατος
οὗτος. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλῆθός τε πολλῷ πλεῖστόν ἐστι πάν-
των τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς
πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους, ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα
95 ψήγματος. νομὸς εἰκοστὸς οὗτος. Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον
τὸ Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν συμβαλλεόμενον τά-
λαντον γίνεται τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ εἰνα-
κισχίλια τάλαντα. τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαιδεκαστάσιον
λογιζόμενον, τὸ ψῆγμα εὑρίσκεται ἐὸν Εὐβοϊκῶν ταλάν-
των ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων. τού-
των ὦν πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος, Εὐβοϊκὰ τά-
λαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον Δαρείῳ μύρια
καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα· τὸ δ᾽
96 ἔτι τούτων ἔλασσον ἀπιεὶς, οὐ λέγω. Οὗτος Δαρείῳ
προσήϊε φόρος ἀπό τε τῆς Ἀσίης, καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ὀλι-

γαχόθεν. προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήϊε ἄλλος φόρος, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίης οἰκημένων. Τοῦτον τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει ὁ βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐς πίθους κεραμίνους τήξας καταχέει· πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος, περιαιρέει τὸν κέραμον. ἐπεὰν δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὅσου ἂν ἑκάστοτε δέηται.

Αὗται μέν νυν ἀρχαί τε ἦσαν, καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξιες. 97
ἡ Περσὶς δὲ χώρη μούνη μοι οὐκ εἴρηται δασμοφόρος· ἀτελέα γὰρ Πέρσαι νέμονται χώρην. Οἵδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα δὲ ἀγίνεον· Αἰθίοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Αἰγύπτῳ, τοὺς Καμβύσης ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας κατεστρέψατο· οἳ περί τε Νύσην τὴν ἱρὴν κατοίκηνται, καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγουσι τὰς ὁρτάς. οὗτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες, καὶ οἱ πλησιόχωροι τούτοισι, σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλαντίαι Ἰνδοί· οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκτηνται κατάγαια. οὗτοι συναμφότεροι διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἀγίνεον, ἀγινέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, δύο χοίνικας ἀπύρου χρυσίου, καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου, καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας, καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι. Κόλχοι δὲ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν, καὶ οἱ προσεχέες μέχρι τοῦ Καυκάσιος οὔρεος· ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ οὖρος ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἄρχεται· τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν ἔτι φροντίζει. οὗτοι ὦν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετηρίδος ἀγίνεον, ἑκατὸν παῖδας, καὶ ἑκατὸν παρθένους. Ἀράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανωτοῦ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. Ταῦτα μὲν οὗτοι δῶρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλέϊ ἐκόμιζον.

Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ἀπ' οὗ τὸ 98
ψῆγμα τῷ βασιλέϊ τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε κτέωνται. Ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρης τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος. τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τῶν καὶ πέρι ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἠῶ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἰνδοί· Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ ἐρημίη ἐστὶ, διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. Ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνεα Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφωνά σφισι. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσί· οἱ δὲ, οὔ. οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἕλεσι οἰκέ-

ουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἰχθύας σιτέονται ὠμούς, τοὺς αἱρέ-
ουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὁρμεώμενοι. καλάμου δὲ ἓν
γόνυ πλοῖον ἕκαστον ποιέεται. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν
φορέουσι ἐσθῆτα φλοΐνην· ἐπεὰν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοῦν
ἀμήσωσι καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν φορμοῦ τρόπον κατα-
99 *πλέξαντες, ὡς θώρηκα ἐνδυνέουσι. Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν*
πρὸς ἠῶ οἰκέοντες τούτων, νομάδες εἰσὶ, κρεῶν ἔδεσταὶ
ὠμῶν· καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι· νομαίοισι δὲ τοιοῖσδε λέ-
γονται χρᾶσθαι. ὃς ἂν κάμῃ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἤν τε γυνὴ ἤν
τε ἀνὴρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστά οἱ ὁμιλέοντες
κτείνουσι, φάμενοι αὐτὸν τηκόμενον τῇ νούσῳ τὰ κρέα
σφίσι διαφθείρεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἄπαρνός ἐστι μὴ μὲν νοσέειν·
οἱ δὲ, οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι, ἀποκτείναντες κατευωχέονται.
ἢν δὲ γυνὴ κάμῃ, ὡσαύτως αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυ-
ναῖκες ταὐτὰ τοῖσι ἀνδράσι ποιεῦσι. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐς γῆρας
ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευωχέονται. ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον
οὐ πολλοί τινες αὐτῶν ἀπικνέονται· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν ἐς
100 *νοῦσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι. Ἑτέρων δέ ἐστι Ἰν-*
δῶν ὅδε ἄλλος τρόπος· οὔτε κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον,
οὔτε τι σπείρουσι, οὔτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι ἐκτῆσθαι· ποιη-
φαγέουσι δὲ, καὶ αὐτοῖσί ἐστι ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος
ἐν κάλυκι, αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον· τὸ συλλέ-
γοντες, αὐτῇ κάλυκι ἕψουσί τε καὶ σιτέονται. ὃς δ' ἂν
ἐς νοῦσον αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κέεται· φρον-
101 *τίζει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἀποθανόντος, οὔτε κάμνοντος. Μίξις*
δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανής ἐστι,
κατάπερ τῶν προβάτων· καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὁμοῖον
πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Αἰθίοψι. ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, τὴν
ἀπίενται ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐ, κατάπερ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώ-
πων, ἐστὶ λευκὴ, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα, κατάπερ τὸ χρῶμα· τοι-
αύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἀπίενται θορήν. οὗτοι μὲν τῶν
Ἰνδῶν ἑκαστέρω τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι, καὶ πρὸς νότου
ἀνέμου· καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέος οὐδαμὰ ὑπήκουσαν.
102 *Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῳ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ*
Πακτυϊκῇ χώρῃ εἰσὶ πρόσουροι, πρὸς ἄρκτου τε καὶ βο-
ρέω ἀνέμου κατοικημένοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἳ Βακτρίοισι
παραπλησίην ἔχουσι δίαιταν. οὗτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοί
εἰσι Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὗτοι.

κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστι ἐρημίη διὰ τὴν ψάμμον· ἐν δὴ ὦν τῇ ἐρημίῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες, μεγάθεα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα, ἀλωπέκεων δὲ μέζονα. εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλέϊ τῶν Περσέων, ἐνθεῦτεν θηρευθέντες. οὗτοι ὦν οἱ μύρμηκες, ποιεύμενοι οἴκησιν ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον, κατάπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μύρμηκες, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατοι. ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσῖτις. Ἐπὶ δὴ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στέλλονται ἐς τὴν ἐρῆμον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ζευξάμενος ἕκαστος καμήλους τρεῖς, σειρηφόρον μὲν ἑκατέρωθεν ἔρσενα παρέλκειν, θήλεαν δὲ, ἐς μέσον· ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηδεύσας ὅκως ἀπὸ τέκνων ὡς νεωτάτων ἀποσπάσας ζεύξῃ. αἱ γάρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἥσσονες ἐς ταχύτητά εἰσι· χωρὶς δὲ, ἄχθεα δυνατώτεραι πολλὸν φέρειν. Τὸ μὲν δὴ εἶδος 103
ὁκοῖόν τι ἔχει ἡ κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοισι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι οὐ συγγράφω· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστέαται αὐτῆς, τοῦτο φράσω. κάμηλος ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθίοισι σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερας μηροὺς, καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα· τὰ δὲ αἰδοῖα διὰ τῶν ὀπισθίων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τετραμμένα. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἰνδοὶ 104
τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ καὶ ζεύξει τοιαύτῃ χρεώμενοι, ἐλαύνουσι ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν, λελογισμένως ὅκως ἂν καυμάτων τῶν θερμοτάτων ἐόντων ἔσονται ἐν τῇ ἁρπαγῇ· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καύματος οἱ μύρμηκες ἀφανέες γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. θερμότατος δέ ἐστι ὁ ἥλιος τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι τὸ ἑωθινόν· οὐ, κατάπερ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, μεσαμβρίης· ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας, μέχρις οὗ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καίει πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτως ὥστ' ἐν ὕδατι λόγος αὐτούς ἐστι βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα. μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρη σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καίει τούς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδούς. ἀποκλιναμένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίης, γίνεταί σφι ὁ ἥλιος κατάπερ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ὁ ἑωθινός· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπιὼν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ψύχει, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ δυσμῇσι ἐὼν, καὶ τὸ κάρτα ψύχει. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἔλθωσι ἐς τὸν χῶρον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔχοντες 105
θυλάκια, ἐμπλήσαντες ταῦτα τῆς ψάμμου, τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι ὀπίσω. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ μύρμηκες, ὀδμῇ (ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων) μαθόντες, διώκουσι· εἶναι δὲ τα-

χύτητα οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ ὁμοῖον, οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ᾧ τοὺς μύρμηκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα ἄν σφεων ἀποσώζεσθαι. τοὺς μέν νυν ἔρσενας τῶν καμήλων (εἶναι γὰρ ἥσσονας θεῖν τῶν θηλέων) καὶ παραλύεσθαι, ἐπελκομένους οὐκ ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέρους· τὰς δὲ θηλέας, ἀναμιμνησκομένας τῶν ἔλιπον τέκνων, ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν. Τὸν μὲν δὴ πλέω τοῦ χρυσοῦ οὕτω οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κτῶνται, ὡς Πέρσαι φασί· ἄλλος δὲ σπανιώτερός ἐστι, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὀρυσσόμενος.

106 Αἱ δ' ἐσχατιαί κως τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ κάλλιστα ἔλαχον, κατάπερ ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰς ὥρας πολλόν τι κάλλιστα κεκραμένας ἔλαχε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, πρὸς τὴν ἕω ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομένων ἡ Ἰνδική ἐστι, ὥσπερ ὀλίγον πρότερον εἴρηκα. ἐν ταύτῃ, τοῦτο μὲν, τὰ ἔμψυχα τετράποδά τε καὶ τὰ πετηνὰ πολλῷ μέζω ἢ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι χωρίοισί ἐστι, πάρεξ τῶν ἵππων· τούτῳ δὲ ἑσσοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, Νισαίων δὲ καλευμένων ἵππων. τοῦτο δὲ, χρυσὸς ἄπλετος αὐτόθι ἐστί· ὁ μὲν, ὀρυσσόμενος· ὁ δὲ, καταφορεύμενος ὑπὸ ποταμῶν· ὁ δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐσήμηνα, ἁρπαζόμενος. τὰ δὲ δένδρεα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια, καλλονῇ τε προφέροντα καὶ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν οἴων· καὶ ἐσθῆτι οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δενδρέων
107 χρέωνται. Πρὸς δ' αὖ μεσαμβρίης ἐσχάτη Ἀραβίη τῶν οἰκεομένων χωρέων ἐστί· ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανωτός τέ ἐστι μούνῃ χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος, καὶ σμύρνη, καὶ κασίη, καὶ κιννάμωμον, καὶ λήδανον. ταῦτα πάντα, πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης, δυσπετέως κτέωνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. Τὸν μέν γε λιβανωτὸν συλλέγουσι, τὴν στύρακα θυμιῶντες, τὴν ἐς Ἕλληνας Φοίνικες ἐξάγουσι· ταύτην θυμιῶντες λαμβάνουσι. τὰ γὰρ δένδρεα ταῦτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὄφιες ὑπόπτεροι, μικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἴδεα, φυλάσσουσι, πλήθεϊ πολλοὶ περὶ δένδρον ἕκαστον· οὗτοι οἵπερ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται. οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρέων, ἢ τῆς στύρακος τῷ καπνῷ.
108 Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τόδε Ἀράβιοι, ὡς πᾶσα ἂν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο τῶν ὀφίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς οἷόν τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχίδνας ἠπιστάμην γίνεσθαι. Καί κως τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκὸς, ἔστι ἐοῦσα σοφή. ὅσα

μὲν γὰρ ψυχήν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίπῃ κατεσθιόμενα· ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνιηρὰ, ὀλιγόγονα. τοῦτο μὲν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δή τι πολύγονόν ἐστι, ἐπικυΐσκεται μοῦνον πάντων θηρίων· καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρί· τὸ δὲ, ψιλόν· τὸ δὲ, ἄρτι ἐν τῇσι μήτρῃσι πλάσσεται· τὸ δὲ, ἀναιρέεται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι. ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα, ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον, ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἕν· τίκτουσα γὰρ, συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον τούτου τόδε ἐστί· ἐπεὰν ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῇ μήτρῃ ἐὼν ἄρχηται διακινεόμενος, ὁ δὲ, ἔχων ὄνυχας θηρίων πολλὸν πάντων ὀξυτάτους, ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας· αὐξανόμενός τε δὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐσικνέεται καταγνάφων· πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ὑγιὲς οὐδὲ ἕν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ αἱ ἔχιδναί τε, 109
καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀραβίοισι ὑπόπτεροι ὄφιες, εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὡς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ἦν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώποισι. νῦν δ', ἐπεὰν θορνύωνται κατὰ ζεύγεα, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ᾖ ὁ ἔρσην τῇ ἐκποιήσει, ἀπιευμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν, ἡ θήλεα ἅπτεται τῆς δειρῆς, καὶ ἐμφῦσα, οὐκ ἀνίει πρὶν ἂν διαφάγῃ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔρσην ἀποθνήσκει τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ. ἡ δὲ θήλεα τίσιν τοιήνδε ἀποτίνει τῷ ἔρσενι· τῷ γονεῖ τιμωρέοντα ἔτι ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ τέκνα, διεσθίει τὴν μήτραν. διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν νηδὺν αὐτῆς, οὕτω τὴν ἔκδυσιν ποιέεται. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὄφιες, ἐόντες ἀνθρώπων οὐ δηλήμονες, τίκτουσί τε ὠὰ, καὶ ἐκλέπουσι πολλόν τι χρῆμα τῶν τέκνων. αἱ μὲν δή νυν ἔχιδναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εἰσί· οἱ δὲ ὑπόπτεροι ἐόντες, ἀθρόοι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ, καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ· κατὰ τοῦτο δοκέουσι πολλοὶ εἶναι.

Τὸν μὲν δὴ λιβανωτὸν τοῦτον οὕτω κτῶνται Ἀράβιοι· 110
τὴν δὲ κασίην, ὧδε. ἐπεὰν καταδήσωνται βύρσῃσι καὶ δέρμασι ἄλλοισι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν κασίην. ἡ δὲ ἐν λίμνῃ φύεται οὐ βαθέῃ· περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αὐλίζεταί κου θηρία πτερωτὰ, τῇσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα, καὶ τέτριγε δεινὸν, καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα. τὰ δὴ ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οὕτω δρέπειν τὴν

111 κασίην. Τὸ δὲ δὴ κιννάμωμον ἔτι τούτων θωυμαστότερον συλλέγουσι. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ γίνεται, καὶ ἥτις μιν γῆ ἡ τρέφουσά ἐστι, οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν· πλὴν ὅτι, λόγῳ οἰκότι χρεώμενοι, ἐν τοισίδε χωρίοισί φασί τινες αὐτὸ φύεσθαι, ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διόνυσος ἐτράφη. ὄρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεα, τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κιννάμωμον καλέομεν· φορέειν δὲ τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐς νεοσσιὰς, προσπεπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοισι οὔρεσι, ἔνθα πρόσβασιν ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι. πρὸς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀραβίους σοφίζεσθαι τάδε· βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων τῶν ἀπογινομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας ὡς μέγιστα, κομίζειν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· καί σφεα θέντας ἀγχοῦ τῶν νεοσσιέων, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκὰς αὐτέων· τὰς δὲ ὄρνιθας καταπετεωμένας, τὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων μέλεα ἀναφορέειν ἐπὶ τὰς νεοσσιάς· τὰς δὲ, οὐ δυναμένας ἴσχειν, καταρρήγνυσθαι ἐπὶ γῆν· τοὺς δὲ, ἐπιόντας, συλλέγειν οὕτω τὸ κιννάμωμον· συλλεγόμε-
112 νον δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς τὰς ἄλλας χώρας. Τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τούτου θωυμασιώτερον γίνεται· ἐν γὰρ δυσοδμοτάτῳ γινόμενον, εὐωδέστατόν ἐστι. τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τοῖσι πώγωσι εὑρίσκεται ἐγγινόμενον, οἷον γλοιὸς, ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. χρήσιμον δ' ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστί· θυμιῶσι τε μάλιστα τοῦτο Ἀράβιοι.

113 Τοσαῦτα μὲν θυωμάτων πέρι εἰρήσθω· ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρης τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ. Δύο δὲ γένεα οἴων σφί ἐστι θώυματος ἄξια, τὰ οὐδαμόθι ἑτέρωθί ἐστι. τὸ μὲν αὐτέων ἕτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐρὰς μακρὰς, τριῶν πήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας· τὰς εἴ τις ἐπείη σφι ἐπέλκειν, ἕλκεα ἂν ἔχοιεν, ἀνατριβομενέων πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν οὐρέων. νῦν δ' ἅπας τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργέειν ἐς τοσοῦτο· ἁμαξίδας γὰρ ποιεῦντες, ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇσι οὐρῇσι, ἑνὸς ἑκάστου κτήνεος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἁμαξίδα ἑκάστην καταδέοντες. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον γένος τῶν οἴων τὰς οὐρὰς πλατέας φορέουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτος.

114 Ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίης παρήκει πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον ἡ Αἰθιοπίη χώρη, ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομένων· αὕτη δὲ χρυσόν τε φέρει πολλὸν, καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφέας, καὶ

δένδρεα πάντα ἄγρια, καὶ ἔβενον, καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους
καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους.

Αὗται μέν νυν ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐσχατιαί εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῇ 115
Λιβύῃ. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην
ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε
ἐνδέκομαι Ἠριδανόν τινα καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων πο-
ταμὸν, ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον,
ἀπ' ὅτευ τὸ ἤλεκτρον φοιτᾶν λόγος ἐστὶ, οὔτε νήσους οἶδα
Κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ.
τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ὁ Ἠριδανὸς, αὐτὸ κατηγορέει τὸ οὔνομα
ὡς ἔστι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητέω δέ
τινος ποιηθέν· τοῦτο δὲ, οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου οὐ
δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι, τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅκως θάλασσά ἐστι τὰ
ἐπέκεινα τῆς Εὐρώπης. ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὦν ὅ τε κασσίτε-
ρος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ, καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον. Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς 116
Εὐρώπης πολλῷ τι πλεῖστος χρυσὸς φαίνεται ἐών· ὅκως
μὲν γινόμενος, οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι· λέ-
γεται δὲ ὑπ' ἐκ τῶν γρυπῶν ἁρπάζειν Ἀριμασποὺς, ἄν-
δρας μουνοφθάλμους. πείθομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ὅκως μουν-
όφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται, φύσιν ἔχοντες τὴν ἄλλην
ὁμοίην τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι. Αἱ δὴ ὦν ἐσχατιαὶ
οἴκασι, περικληΐουσαι τὴν ἄλλην χώρην καὶ ἐντὸς ἀπέρ-
γουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατα
ἔχειν αὗται.

Ἔστι δὲ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ περικεκληϊμένον οὔρεϊ 117
πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ οὔρεός εἰσι πέντε. τοῦτο τὸ
πεδίον ἦν μέν κοτε Χορασμίων, ἐν οὔροισι ἐὸν τῶν Χο-
ρασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ὑρκανίων, καὶ Πάρθων, καὶ Σα-
ραγγέων, καὶ Θαμαναίων· ἐπεί τε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ
κράτος, ἔστι τοῦ βασιλέος. ἐκ δὴ ὦν τοῦ περικληΐοντος
οὔρεος τούτου ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας, οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἐστὶ
Ἄκης. οὗτος πρότερον μὲν ἄρδεσκε, διαλελαμμένος πεν-
ταχοῦ, τῶν εἰρημένων τούτων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγος
ἀγόμενος ἑκάστης ἑκάστοισι. ἐπεί τε δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πέρσῃ
εἰσὶ, πεπόνθασι τοιόνδε. Τὰς διασφάγας τῶν οὐρέων ἐν-
δείμας ὁ βασιλεὺς, πύλας ἐπ' ἑκάστῃ διασφάγι ἔστησε·
ἀποκεκληϊμένου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς διεξόδου, τὸ πεδίον τὸ
ἐντὸς τῶν οὐρέων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ

ποταμοῦ, ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐξήλυσιν. οὗτοι ὦν, οἵπερ ἔμπροσθεν ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι τῷ ὕδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χρᾶσθαι, συμφορῇ μεγάλῃ διαχρέωνται. τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὕει σφι ὁ θεὸς, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπείροντες μελίνην καὶ σήσαμον, χρηΐσκοντο τῷ ὕδατι. ἐπεὰν ὦν μηδέν σφι παραδίδωται τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας αὐτοί τε καὶ γυναῖκες, στάντες κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέος, βοῶσι ὠρυόμενοι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τοῦτο φερούσας· ἐπεὰν δὲ διάκορος ἡ γῆ σφέων γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ, αὗται μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκληΐονται, ἄλλας δ' ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἄλλοισι τοῖσι δεομένοισι μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκούσας, χρήματα μεγάλα πρησσόμενος ἀνοίγει, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει οὕτω.

118 Τῶν δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπαναστάντων ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἕνα αὐτῶν Ἰνταφέρνεα κατέλαβε, ὑβρίσαντα τάδε, ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἤθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλήϊα ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλέϊ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἶχε τοῖσι ἐπαναστᾶσι τῷ Μάγῳ, ἔσοδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἄνευ ἀγγέλου, ἢν μὴ γυναικὶ τυγχάνῃ μισγόμενος ὁ βασιλεύς. οὔκων δὴ Ἰνταφέρνης ἐδικαίευ οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι· ἀλλ', ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἑπτὰ, ἐσιέναι ἤθελε. ὁ δὲ πυλουρὸς καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιηφόρος οὐ περιώρεον, φάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰνταφέρνης, δοκέων σφέας ψεύδεα λέγειν, ποιέει τοιάδε. σπασάμενος τὸν ἀκινάκεα, ἀποτάμνει αὐτῶν τά τε ὦτα καὶ τὰς ῥῖνας· καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ἵππου, περὶ τοὺς αὐχέ-
119 νας σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπῆκε. Οἱ δὲ τῷ βασιλέϊ δεικνύασι ἑωυτοὺς, καὶ τὴν αἰτίην εἶπον, δι' ἣν πεπονθότες εἴησαν. Δαρεῖος δὲ, ἀρρωδήσας μὴ κοινῷ λόγῳ οἱ ἓξ πεποιηκότες ἔωσι ταῦτα, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον, ἀπεπειρᾶτο γνώμης, εἰ συνέπαινοί εἰσι τῷ πεποιημένῳ. ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν ἐκείνοισι εἴη ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφέρνεα, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς οἰκηΐους πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβὼν δέ σφεας, ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ

τοῦ Ἰνταφέρνεος φοιτέουσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέος, κλαίεσκε ἂν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο· ποιεῦσα δὲ αἰεὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο, τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔπεισε οἰκτεῖραί μιν. πέμψας δὲ ἄγγελον, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ὦ γύναι, βασιλεύς τοι Δαρεῖος διδοῖ "ἕνα τῶν δεδεμένων οἰκηΐων ῥύσασθαι, τὸν βούλεαι ἐκ "πάντων." Ἡ δὲ, βουλευσαμένη, ὑπεκρίνατο τάδε· "Εἰ "μὲν δή μοι διδοῖ βασιλεὺς ἑνὸς τὴν ψυχὴν, αἱρέομαι ἐκ "πάντων τὸν ἀδελφεόν." Πυθόμενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ταῦτα, καὶ θωυμάσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἠγόρευε· "Ὦ γύναι, "εἰρωτᾷ σε βασιλεὺς, τίνα ἔχουσα γνώμην, τὸν ἄνδρα τε "καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιποῦσα, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν εἵλευ περι-"εῖναί τοι· ὃς καὶ ἀλλοτριώτατός τοι τῶν παίδων, καὶ "ἧσσον κεχαρισμένος τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστι." Ἡ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀνὴρ μέν μοι ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο, εἰ "δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα, εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβάλοιμι· "πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς οὐκ ἔτι μευ ζωόντων, ἀδελφεὸς ἂν "ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο. ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρεω-"μένη, ἔλεξα ταῦτα." Εὖ τε δὴ ἔδοξε τῷ Δαρείῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνὴ, καί οἱ ἀπῆκε τοῦτόν τε τὸν παραιτέετο, καὶ τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῇ· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἑπτὰ εἷς αὐτίκα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀπολώλεε.

Κατὰ δέ κου μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσεω νοῦσον ἐγένετο 120
τάδε. Ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεὶς ἦν Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος Ὀροίτης, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης. οὗτος ἐπεθύμησε πρήγματος οὐκ ὁσίου· οὔτε γάρ τι παθὼν οὔτε ἀκούσας μάταιον ἔπος πρὸς Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου, οὔτε ἰδὼν πρότερον, ἐπεθύμεε λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι· ὡς μὲν οἱ πλεῦνες λέγουσι, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέος θυρέων κατήμενον τόν τε Ὀροίτην καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσην, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Μιτροβάτεα, νομοῦ ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ, τούτους ἐκ λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπεσέειν. κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς, εἰπεῖν τὸν Μιτροβάτεα τῷ Ὀροίτῃ, προφέροντα· "Σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγῳ, ὃς βασιλέϊ νῆσον Σάμον πρὸς "τῷ σῷ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκτήσαο, ὧδε δή τι "ἐοῦσαν εὐπετέα χειρωθῆναι; τὴν τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων "πεντεκαίδεκα ὁπλίτῃσι ἐπαναστὰς ἔσχε, καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς "τυραννεύει." Οἱ μὲν δή μίν φασι τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα, καὶ

ἀλγήσαντα τῷ ὀνείδεϊ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι οὐκ οὕτω τὸν εἴπαντα ταῦτα τίσασθαι, ὡς Πολυκράτεα πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δι'
121 ὅν τινα κακῶς ἤκουσε. Οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι, πέμψαι Ὀροίτεα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα, ὅτευ δὴ χρήματος δεησόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ὦν δὴ τοῦτό γε λέγεται· καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρεῖναι δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήϊον· καί κως, εἴτ' ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὸν κατηλογέοντα τὰ Ὀροίτεω πρήγματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχίη τις τοιαύτη ἐπεγένετο· τόν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὀροίτεω παρελθόντα διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα, τυχεῖν γὰρ ἐπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον, οὔτε τι μεταστραφῆναι,
122 οὔτε ὑποκρίνασθαι. Αἰτίαι μὲν δὴ αὗται διφάσιαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι· πάρεστι δὲ πείθεσθαι ὁκοτέρῃ τις βούλεται αὐτέων. Ὁ δὴ ὦν Ὀροίτης, ἱζόμενος ἐν Μαγνησίῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένῃ, ἔπεμπε Μύρσον τὸν Γύγεω, ἄνδρα Λυδὸν, ἐς Σάμον ἀγγελίην φέροντα, μαθὼν τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὸν νόον. Πολυκράτης γάρ ἐστι πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Ἑλλήνων, ὃς θαλασσοκρατέειν ἐπενοήθη, πάρεξ Μίνωός τε τοῦ Κνωσσίου, καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος πρότερος τούτου ἦρξε τῆς θαλάσσης· τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπηΐης λεγομένης γενεῆς Πολυκράτης ἐστὶ πρῶτος, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων Ἰωνίης τε καὶ νήσων ἄρξειν. μαθὼν ὦν ταῦτά μιν διανοεύμενον ὁ Ὀροίτης, πέμψας ἀγγελίην, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ὀροίτης "Πολυκράτεϊ ὧδε λέγει. Πυνθάνομαι ἐπιβουλεύειν σε "πρήγμασι μεγάλοισι, καὶ χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ "τὰ φρονήματα. σὺ νῦν ὧδε ποιήσας, ὀρθώσεις μὲν σεω"υτὸν, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμέ. ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύ"σης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον, καί μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται "σαφηνέως. σὺ νῦν ἐμὲ ἐκκομίσας, αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα, "τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμὲ ἔα ἔχειν. εἵνεκέν "τε χρημάτων, ἄρξεις ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. εἰ δέ μοι "ἀπιστέεις τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον ὅστις τοι
123 "πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἐὼν, τῷ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Πολυκράτης, ἥσθη τε καὶ ἐβούλετο· καί κως, ἱμείρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως, ἀποπέμπει πρῶτα κατοψόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαιανδρίου, ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ὅς οἱ ἦν γραμματιστής· ὃς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων,

τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον, ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. Ὁ δὲ Ὀροίτης, μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἐόντα προσδόκιμον, ἐποίεε τοιάδε. λάρνακας ὀκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων, πλὴν κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χείλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε· καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας, εἶχε ἑτοίμας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος, καὶ θεησάμενος, ἀπήγγειλε
τῷ Πολυκράτεϊ. Ὁ δὲ, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντίων ἀπα- 124
γορευόντων, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων, ἐστέλλετο αὐτὸς ἀπιέναι· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ ἰδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεέ οἱ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἠέρι μετέωρον ἐόντα, λοῦσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς, χρίεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. ταύτην ἰδοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν, παντοίη ἐγίνετο μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεα παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεα· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἰόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον ἐπεφημίζετο. ὁ δέ οἱ ἠπείλησε, ἢν σῶς ἀπονοστήσῃ, πολλόν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύεσθαι. ἡ δὲ ἠρήσατο ἐπιτελέα ταῦτα γενέσθαι· βούλεσθαι γὰρ παρθενεύεσθαι πλέω χρόνον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστε-
ρῆσθαι. Πολυκράτης δὲ, πάσης συμβουλίης ἀλογήσας, 125
ἔπλεε παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δημοκήδεα τὸν Καλλιφῶντος, Κροτωνιήτην, ἄνδρα ἰητρόν τε ἐόντα, καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκέοντα ἄριστα τῶν κατ᾽ ἑωυτόν. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαγνησίην ὁ Πολυκράτης, διεφθάρη κακῶς, οὔτε ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίως οὔτε τῶν ἑωυτοῦ φρονημάτων· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι, οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων ἄξιός ἐστι Πολυκράτεϊ μεγαλοπρεπείην συμβληθῆναι. ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος Ὀροίτης, ἀνεσταύρωσε. τῶν δέ οἱ ἑπομένων ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἀπῆκε, κελεύων σφέας ἑωυτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι, ἐόντας ἐλευθέρους· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ξεῖνοί τε καὶ δοῦλοι τῶν ἑπομένων, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος εἶχε. Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος, ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὄψιν τῆς θυγατρός· ἐλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως ὕοι, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀνιεὶς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἰκμάδα. Πολυκράτεος μὲν δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαν, τῇ οἱ Ἄμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαντεύσατο.

126 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ὀροίτεα Πολυκράτεος τίσιες μετῆλθον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Καμβύσεω θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν βασιληΐην, μένων ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι Ὀροίτης, ὠφέλει μὲν οὐδὲν Πέρσας, ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχήν· ὁ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτροβάτεα τὸν ἐκ Δασκυλείου ὕπαρχον, ὅς οἱ ὠνείδισε τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτεα ἔχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ Μιτροβάτεω τὸν παῖδα Κρανάσπην, ἄνδρας ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκίμους· ἄλλα τε ἐξύβρισε παντοῖα, καί τινα ἀγγαρήϊον Δαρείου ἐλθόντα παρ' αὐτὸν, ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν οἱ ἦν τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, κτείνει μιν ὀπίσω κομιζόμενον, ἄνδρας οἱ ὑπείσας κατ' ὁδόν· ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν, ἠφάνισε αὐτῷ
127 ἵππῳ. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐπεθύμεε τὸν Ὀροίτεα τίσασθαι, πάντων τε τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἵνεκεν, καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἰθείης στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδόκεε πέμπειν, ἅτε οἱ οἰδεόντων ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὸν Ὀροίτεα μεγάλην τὴν ἰσχὺν πυνθανόμενος ἔχειν· τὸν χίλιοι μὲν Περσέων ἐδορυφόρεον, εἶχε δὲ νομὸν τόν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ἰωνικόν. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὦν ὁ Δαρεῖος τάδε ἐμηχανήσατο. συγκαλέσας Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· "Ὦ Πέρσαι, τίς ἄν μοι "τοῦτο ὑμέων ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίῃ, καὶ μὴ βίῃ τε "καὶ ὁμίλῳ; ἔνθα γὰρ σοφίης δέει, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν. "ὑμέων δὴ ὦν τίς μοι Ὀροίτεα ἢ ζώοντα ἀγάγοι, ἢ ἀπο"κτείνειε; ὃς ὠφέλησε μέν κω Πέρσας οὐδὲν, κακὰ δὲ "μεγάλα ἔοργε· τοῦτο μὲν, δύο ἡμέων ἠΐστωσε, Μιτρο"βάτεά τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ, καὶ τοὺς ἀνα"καλέοντας αὐτὸν, καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, κτείνει, "ὕβριν οὐκ ἀνάσχετον φαίνων. πρίν τι ὦν μέζον ἐξερ"γάσασθαί μιν Πέρσας κακὸν, καταλαμπτέος ἐστὶ ἡμῖν
128 "θανάτῳ." Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα. τῷ δὲ ἄνδρες τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐθέλων ποιέειν ταῦτα. ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρεῖος κατελάμβανε, κελεύων πάλλεσθαι· παλλομένων δὲ, λαγχάνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαῖος ὁ Ἀρτόντεω. λαχὼν δὲ ὁ Βαγαῖος ποιέει τοιάδε· βιβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ, καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντα πρηγμάτων, σφρηγῖδά σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείου· μετὰ δὲ, ἤϊε ἔχων

ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ἀπικόμενος δὲ, καὶ Ὀροίτεω ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν, τῶν βιβλίων ἓν ἕκαστον περιαιρεόμενος, ἐδίδου τῷ γραμματιστῇ τῷ βασιληΐῳ ἐπιλέγεσθαι· γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιληΐους οἱ πάντες ὕπαρχοι ἔχουσι. ἀποπειρεώμενος δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἐδίδου τὰ βιβλία ὁ Βαγαῖος, εἰ ἐνδεξαίατο ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ Ὀροίτεω. ὁρέων δέ σφεας τά τε βιβλία σεβομένους μεγάλως, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων ἔτι μεζόνως, διδοῖ ἄλλο, ἐν τῷ ἐνῆν ἔπεα τάδε· "Ὦ Πέρσαι, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἀπαγορεύει "ὑμῖν μὴ δορυφορέειν Ὀροίτεα." Οἱ δὲ, ἀκούσαντες τούτων, μετῆκάν οἱ τὰς αἰχμάς. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτό σφεας ὁ Βαγαῖος πειθομένους τῷ βιβλίῳ, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσήσας, τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βιβλίων διδοῖ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, ἐν τῷ ἐγέγραπτο· "Βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Πέρσῃσι τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι "ἐντέλλεται κτείνειν Ὀροίτεα." Οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀκινάκεας, κτείνουσι παραυτίκα μιν. Οὕτω δὴ Ὀροίτεα τὸν Πέρσην Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου τίσιες μετῆλθον.

Ἀπικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν Ὀροίτεω 129
χρημάτων ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνεικε χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, ἐν ἄγρῃ θηρῶν ἀποθρώσκοντα ἀπὸ ἵππου, στραφῆναι τὸν πόδα. καί κως ἰσχυροτέρως ἐστράφη· ὁ γάρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. νομίζων δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἑωυτὸν ἔχειν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρώτους τὴν ἰητρικὴν, τούτοισι ἐχρῆτο. οἱ δὲ, στρεβλοῦντες καὶ βιώμενοι τὸν πόδα, κακὸν μέζον ἐργάζοντο. ἐπ' ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἑπτὰ νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀγρυπνίῃσι εἴχετο· τῇ δὲ δὴ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔχοντί οἱ φλαύρως, παρακούσας τις πρότερον ἔτι ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιήτεω Δημοκήδεος τὴν τέχνην, ἀγγέλλει τῷ Δαρείῳ· ὁ δὲ ἄγειν μιν τὴν ταχίστην παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἐκέλευσε. τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξεῦρον ἐν τοῖσι Ὀροίτεω ἀνδραπόδοισι ὅκου δὴ ἀπημελημένον, παρῆγον
ἐς μέσον, πέδας τε ἕλκοντα, καὶ ῥάκεσι ἐσθημένον. Στα- 130
θέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτα ὁ Δαρεῖος, τὴν τέχνην εἰ ἐπίσταιτο. ὁ δ' οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ ἑωυτὸν ἐκφήνας, τὸ παράπαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ᾖ ἀπεστερημένος. κατεφάνη δὲ τῷ Δαρείῳ τεχνάζειν, ἐπιστάμενος· καὶ τοὺς

ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μάστιγάς τε καὶ κέντρα παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον. Ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὦν ἐκφαίνει, φὰς ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, ὁμιλήσας δὲ ἰητρῷ, φλαύρως ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην. μετὰ δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἰήμασι χρεώμενος, καὶ ἤπια μετὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων, ὕπνου τέ μιν λαγχάνειν ἐποίεε, καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ὑγιέα μιν ἐόντα ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι ἐλπίζοντα ἀρτίπουν ἔσεσθαι. Δωρέεται δή μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος πεδέων χρυσέων δύο ζεύγεσι. ὁ δέ μιν ἐπείρετο, εἴ οἱ διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτηδες νέμει, ὅτι μιν ὑγιέα ἐποίησε. ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῷ ἔπεϊ ὁ Δαρεῖος, ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ τὰς ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκας. παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι, ἔλεγον πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας, ὡς βασιλέϊ οὗτος εἴη ὃς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε. ὑποτύπτουσα δὲ αὐτέων ἑκάστη φιάλῃ ἐς τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὴν θήκην, ἐδωρέετο Δημοκήδεα οὕτω δή τι δαψιλέϊ δωρεῇ, ὡς τοὺς ἀποπίπτοντας ἀπὸ τῶν φιαλέων στατῆρας ἑπόμενος ὁ οἰκέτης, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο, καί οἱ χρῆμα πολλόν τι χρυσοῦ συνελέχθη.

131 Ὁ δὲ Δημοκήδης οὗτος, ὧδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπιγμένος, Πολυκράτεϊ ὡμίλησε. πατρὶ συνείχετο ἐν Κρότωνι, ὀργὴν χαλεπῷ· τοῦτον ἐπεί τε οὐκ ἐδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολιπὼν οἴχετο ἐς Αἴγιναν. καταστὰς δὲ ἐς ταύτην, τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτεϊ ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς πρώτους ἰητροὺς, ἀσκευής περ ἐὼν, καὶ ἔχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστὶ ἐργαλήϊα. καί μιν δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ ταλάντου Αἰγινῆται δημοσίῃ μισθεῦνται· τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἑκατὸν μνέων· τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Πολυκράτης δυῶν ταλάντων. οὕτω μὲν ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σάμον. Καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἥκιστα Κροτωνιῆται ἰητροὶ εὐδοκίμησαν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ὦν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἰητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι· δεύτεροι δὲ, Κυρηναῖοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ χρόνον καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἤκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων

132 πρῶτοι. Τότε δὲ ὁ Δημοκήδης, ἐν τοῖσι Σούσοισι ἐξιησάμενος Δαρεῖον, οἶκόν τε μέγιστον εἶχε, καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος βασιλέϊ ἐγεγόνεε· πλήν τε ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐς Ἕλληνας ἀπιέναι, πάντα τὰ ἄλλα οἱ παρῆν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἰητροὺς, οἳ βασιλέα πρότερον ἰῶντο, μέλλοντας ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι, διότι ὑπὸ Ἕλληνος ἰητροῦ ἑσσώθησαν,

τούτους, βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος, ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο δὲ, μάντιν Ἠλεῖον Πολυκράτεϊ ἐπισπόμενον, καὶ ἀπημελημένον ἐν τοῖσι ἀνδραπόδοισι, ἐρρύσατο. ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκήδης παρὰ βασιλέϊ.

Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ μετὰ ταῦτα, τάδε ἄλλα συνήνεικε 133
γενέσθαι. Ἀτόσσῃ, τῇ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναικὶ, ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφυ φῦμα· μετὰ δὲ, ἐκραγὲν, ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον ἦν ἔλασσον, ἡ δὲ, κρύπτουσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη, ἔφραζε οὐδενί· ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκήδεα, καί οἱ ἐπέδεξε. ὁ δὲ, φὰς ὑγιέα ποιήσειν, ἐξορκοῖ μιν, ἦ μέν οἱ ἀντυπουργήσειν ἐκείνην τοῦτο τὸ ἂν αὐτῆς δεηθῇ· δεήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα 134
μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἰώμενος ὑγιέα ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοκήδεος ἡ Ἄτοσσα, προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιόνδε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔχων δύναμιν "τοσαύτην, κάτησαι, οὔτε τι ἔθνος προσκτώμενος οὔτε "δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι. οἰκὸς δέ ἐστι ἄνδρα, καὶ νέον, καὶ "χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην, φαίνεσθαί τι ἀποδεικνύ-"μενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄρχον-"ται. ἐπ' ἀμφότερα δέ τοι φέρει ταῦτα ποιέειν, καὶ ἵνα "σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπιστέωνται ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προεστεῶ-"τα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμῳ, μηδὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντες "ἐπιβουλεύωσί τοι. νῦν γὰρ ἄν τι καὶ ἀποδέξαιο ἔργον, "ἕως νέος εἶς ἡλικίην· αὐξανομένῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι συν-"αύξονται καὶ αἱ φρένες· γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγηράσκουσι, "καὶ ἐς τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται." Ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἔλεγε. ὁ δ' ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· "Ὦ "γύναι, πάντα ὅσα περ αὐτὸς ἐπινοέω ποιήσειν, εἴρηκας. "ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι, ζεύξας γέφυραν, ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς "ἠπείρου ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην ἤπειρον ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύ-"εσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγου χρόνου ἔσται τελεύμενα." Λέγει Ἄτοσσα τάδε· "Ὅρα νυν, ἐς Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώ-"την ἰέναι ἔασον· οὗτοι γὰρ, ἐπεὰν σὺ βούλῃ, ἔσονταί "τοι. σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι· ἐπιθυ-"μέω γὰρ, λόγῳ πυνθανομένη, Λακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι "θεραπαίνας καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ Ἀττικὰς καὶ Κορινθίας. "ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεώτατον ἀνδρῶν πάντων δέξαι τε

"ἕκαστα τῆς ῾Ελλάδος καὶ κατηγήσασθαι, τοῦτον ὅς σευ "τὸν πόδα ἐξιήσατο." ᾿Αμείβεται Δαρεῖος· "᾿Ω γύναι, "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι δοκέει τῆς ῾Ελλάδος ἡμέας πρῶτα ἀπυ-"πειρᾶσθαι, κατασκόπους μοι δοκέει Περσέων πρῶτον "ἄμεινον εἶναι, ὁμοῦ τούτῳ τῷ σὺ λέγεις, πέμψαι ἐς αὐ-"τούς· οἳ μαθόντες καὶ ἰδόντες ἕκαστα αὐτῶν, ἐξαγγελέ-"ουσι ἡμῖν. καὶ ἔπειτα, ἐξεπιστάμενος, ἐπ᾿ αὐτοὺς τρέ-

135 "ψομαι." Ταῦτα εἶπε· καὶ ἅμα ἔπος τε, καὶ ἔργον ἐποίεε. ἐπεί τε γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, καλέσας Περσέων ἄνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐνετέλλετό σφι, ἑπομένους Δημοκήδεϊ, διεξελθεῖν τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς ῾Ελλάδος· ὅκως τε μὴ διαδρήσεταί σφεας ὁ Δημοκήδης, ἀλλά μιν πάντως ὀπίσω ἀπάξουσι. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούτοισι ταῦ-τα, δεύτερα καλέσας αὐτὸν Δημοκήδεα, ἐδέετο αὐτοῦ, ὅκως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας τὴν ῾Ελλάδα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, ὀπίσω ἥξει. δῶρα δέ μιν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐκέλευε πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου ἔπιπλα λα-βόντα ἄγειν, φὰς ἄλλα οἱ παραπλήσια ἀντιδώσειν· πρὸς δὲ, ἐς τὰ δῶρα ὁλκάδα οἱ ἔφη συμβαλέεσθαι, πλήσας ἀγαθῶν παντοίων, τὴν ἅμα οἱ πλεύσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος μὲν δὴ, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἀπ᾿ οὐδενὸς δολεροῦ νόου ἐπαγγέλλετό οἱ ταῦτα. Δημοκήδης δὲ, δείσας μή εὑ ἐκπειρῷτο Δαρεῖος, οὔτι ἐπιδραμὼν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέκετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ κατὰ χώρην ἔφη καταλείψειν, ἵνα ὀπίσω σφέα ἀπελθὼν ἔχοι, τὴν μέντοι ὁλκάδα, τήν οἱ Δαρεῖος ἐπαγ-γέλλετο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι, δέκεσθαι ἔφη. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος, ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

136 Καταβάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φοινίκην, καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδῶνα πόλιν, αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ γαυλὸν μέγαν, παντοίων ἀγαθῶν. παρ-εσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα, ἔπλεον ἐς την ῾Ελλάδα· προσί-σχοντες δὲ, αὐτῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐθηεῦντο, καὶ ἀπε-γράφοντο· ἐς ὃ, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐνομαστότατα θεη-σάμενοι, ἀπίκοντο τῆς ᾿Ιταλίης ἐς Τάραντα. ᾿Ενθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστώνης τῆς Δημοκήδεος, ᾿Αριστοφιλίδης τῶν Τα-ραντίνων ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσε τῶν Μηδικέων νεῶν· τοῦτο δὲ, αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πέρσας ἔρξε,

ὡς κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἐόντας. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἔπασχον, ὁ Δημοκήδης ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπικνέεται. ἀπιγμένου δὲ ἤδη τούτου ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, ὁ Ἀριστοφιλίδης ἔλυσε τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν, ἀπέδωκέ σφι.
Πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Πέρσαι, καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκή- 137
δεα, ἀπικνέονται ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα· εὑρόντες δέ μιν ἀγοράζοντα, ἅπτοντο αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιητέων οἱ μὲν, καταρρωδέοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρήγματα, προϊέναι ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ ἀντάπτοντό τε, καὶ τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι ἔπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας, προϊσχομένους ἔπεα τάδε· "Ἄνδρες Κροτωνιῆται, ὁρᾶτε τὰ ποιέετε· ἄνδρα βασιλέος δρηπέτην γενόμενον ἐξαιρέεσθε. καὶ κῶς ταῦτα βασιλέϊ Δαρείῳ ἐκχρήσει περιϋβρίσθαι; κῶς δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ποιεύμενα ἕξει καλῶς, ἢν ἀπέλησθε ἡμέας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆσδε προτέρην στρατευσόμεθα πόλιν; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι πειρησόμεθα;" Ταῦτα λέγοντες, τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὐκ ὦν ἔπειθον· ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεθέντες τε τὸν Δημοκήδεα, καὶ τὸν γαυλὸν τὸν ἅμα ἤγοντο ἀπαιρεθέντες, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐδ' ἔτι ἐζήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι ἐκμαθεῖν, ἐστερημένοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. Τοσόνδε μέντοι ἐνετείλατό σφι Δημοκήδης ἀναγομένοισι, κελεύων εἰπεῖν σφέας Δαρείῳ, ὅτι ἅρμοσται τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκήδης γυναῖκα. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ἦν οὔνομα πολλὸν παρὰ βασιλέϊ. κατὰ δὴ τοῦτό μοι δοκέει σπεῦσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκήδης, ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου ἐὼν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ δόκιμος. Ἀναχθέν- 138
τες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐκπίπτουσι τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς Ἰηπυγίην· καί σφεας, δουλεύοντας ἐνθαῦτα, Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντῖνος φυγὰς ῥυσάμενος, ἀπήγαγε παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἑτοῖμος ἦν διδόναι τοῦτο ὅ τι βούλοιτο αὐτός. Γίλλος δὲ αἱρέεται κάτοδόν οἱ ἐς Τάραντα γενέσθαι, προαπηγησάμενος τὴν συμφορήν. ἵνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢν δι' αὐτὸν στόλος μέγας πλέῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίην, Κνιδίους μούνους ἀποχρᾶν οἱ ἔφη τοὺς κατάγοντας γίνεσθαι· δοκέων ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐόντων τοῖσι Ταραντίνοισι φίλων, μάλιστα δὴ τὴν κάτοδόν οἱ ἔσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπε-

τέλεε· πέμψας γὰρ ἄγγελον ἐς Κνίδον, κατάγειν σφέας
ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ἐς Τάραντα. πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρείῳ Κνί-
διοι, Ταραντίνους οὐκ ὦν ἔπειθον, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν
προσφέρειν. Ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω ἐπρήχθη· οὗτοι δὲ
πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο Πέρσαι,
καὶ οὗτοι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα κατάσκοποι ἐγένοντο.

139 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Σάμον βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος αἱρέει, πο-
λίων πασέων πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ
τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου στρατευο-
μένου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἄλλοι τε συχνοὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον
ἀπίκοντο Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μὲν, ὡς οἰκὸς, κατ' ἐμπορίην· οἱ
δὲ, στρατευόμενοι· οἱ δέ τινες, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρης θεη-
ταί· τῶν ἦν καὶ Συλοσῶν ὁ Αἰάκεος, Πολυκράτεός τε ἐὼν
ἀδελφεὸς, καὶ φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου. Τοῦτον τὸν Συλοσῶντα
κατέλαβε εὐτυχίη τις τοιήδε. λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περι-
βαλόμενος πυρρὴν, ἠγόραζε ἐν τῇ Μέμφι· ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν
Δαρεῖος, δορυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμβύσεω καὶ λόγου οὐδενός
κω μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος, καὶ αὐτὴν προσελ-
θὼν ὠνέετο. ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν, ὁρέων τὸν Δαρεῖον μεγάλως
ἐπιθυμέοντα τῆς χλανίδος, θείῃ τύχῃ χρεώμενος, λέγει·
"Ἐγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος· δίδωμι δὲ
"ἄλλως, εἴ περ οὕτω δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντως τοι." Αἰνέσας
140 ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος, παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἷμα. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συ-
λοσῶν ἠπίστατό οἱ τοῦτο ἀπολωλέναι δι' εὐηθίην. ὡς δὲ
τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος Καμβύσης τε ἀπέθανε, καὶ τῷ
Μάγῳ ἐπανέστησαν οἱ ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ Δαρεῖος
τὴν βασιληΐην ἔσχε· πυνθάνεται ὁ Συλοσῶν, ὡς ἡ βασι-
ληΐη περιεληλύθοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, τῷ κοτὲ αὐτὸς
ἔδωκε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δεηθέντι τὸ εἷμα. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς τὰ
Σοῦσα, ἵζετο ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλέος οἰκίων, καὶ ἔφη
Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι. ἀγγέλλει ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πυ-
λουρὸς τῷ βασιλέϊ. ὁ δὲ, θωυμάσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν·
"Καὶ τίς ἐστι Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης, ᾧ ἐγὼ προαιδεῦμαι,
"νεωστὶ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων; ἀναβέβηκε δ' ἤ τις ἢ οὐ-
"δείς κω παρ' ἡμέας αὐτῶν. ἔχω δὲ χρέος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν
"ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν παράγετε ἔσω, ἵνα
"εἰδέω τί θέλων λέγει ταῦτα." Παρῆγε ὁ πυλουρὸς τὸν
Συλοσῶντα· στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτευν οἱ ἑρμηνέες

τίς τε εἴη, καὶ τί ποιήσας, εὐεργέτης φησὶ εἶναι βασιλέος. εἶπε ὦν ὁ Συλοσῶν πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλανίδα γενόμενα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη κεῖνος ὁ δούς. ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος· "Ὦ γενναιότατε ἀνδρῶν, σὺ κεῖνος εἶ, ὃς ἐμοὶ "οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντί κω δύναμιν ἔδωκας, εἰ καὶ σμικρά; ἀλλ' "ὦν ἴση γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν κοθέν τι μέγα "λάβοιμι. ἀνθ' ὧν τοι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἄπλετον "δίδωμι, ὡς μή κοτέ τοι μεταμελήσει Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστά-"σπεος εὖ ποιήσαντι." Λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Συλοσῶν· "Ἐμοὶ μήτε χρυσὸν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μήτε ἄργυρον δίδου, "ἀλλ' ἀνασωσάμενός μοι δὸς τὴν πατρίδα Σάμον· τὴν "νῦν, ἀδελφεοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ "Ὀροίτεω, ἔχει δοῦλος ἡμέτερος· ταύτην μοι δὸς ἄνευ τε "φόνου καὶ ἐξανδραποδίσιος." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Δαρεῖος, 141 *ἀπέστελλε στρατιήν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὀτάνεα, ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ γενόμενον· ἐντειλάμενος, ὅσων ἐδεήθη ὁ Συλοσῶν, ταῦτά οἱ ποιέειν ἐπιτελέα. καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὁ Ὀτάνης, ἔστελλε τὴν στρατιήν.*

Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κρά- 142 *τος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῶν βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο. Ἐπειδὴ γάρ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη ὁ Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, ἐποίεε τοιάδε. πρῶτα μὲν, Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἱδρύσατο, καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὔρισε τοῦτο, τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστηΐῳ ἐστί. μετὰ δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἐπεποίητο, ἐκκλησίην συναγείρας πάντων τῶν ἀστῶν, ἔλεξε τάδε· "Ἐμοὶ, ὡς "ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα ἡ Πολυκρά-"τεος ἐπιτέτραπται, καί μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμέων ἄρχειν· "ἐγὼ δὲ, τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν "οὐ ποιήσω. οὔτε γάρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἤρεσκε δεσπό-"ζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἑωυτῷ, οὔτε ἄλλος ὅστις τοιαῦτα "ποιέει. Πολυκράτης μέν νυν ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἑωυ-"τοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς, ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν "προαγορεύω. Τοσάδε μέντοι δικαιῶ γέρεα ἐμεωυτῷ γε-"νέσθαι· ἐκ μέν γε τῶν Πολυκράτεος χρημάτων ἐξαίρετα "ἓξ τάλαντά μοι γενέσθαι· ἱρωσύνην δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι "αἱρεῦμαι αὐτῷ τ' ἐμοὶ, καὶ τοῖσι ἀπ' ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινομέ-"νοισι, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου· τῷ αὐτός τε ἱρὸν ἱδρυ-*

"σάμην, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθημι." Ὁ μὲν
δὴ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἐπαγγέλλετο· τῶν δέ τις ἐξανα-
στὰς εἶπε· "Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄξιος εἶ σύ γε ἡμέων ἄρχειν,
"γεγονώς τε κακὸς καὶ ἐὼν ὄλεθρος· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως
143 "λόγον δώσεις τῶν μετεχείρισας χρημάτων." Ταῦτα
εἶπε, ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστοῖσι δόκιμος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Τελέ-
σαρχος. Μαιάνδριος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν ὡς εἰ μετήσει τὴν
ἀρχήν, ἄλλος τις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐδ'
ἔτι ἐν νόῳ εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον, ὡς δὴ λό-
γον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων, συνέλαβέ σφεας καὶ κατέδησε.
οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδεδέατο· Μαιάνδριον δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε
νοῦσος. ἐλπίζων δέ μιν ἀποθανέεσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ
οὔνομα ἔην Λυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχῃ τὰ ἐν
τῇ Σάμῳ πρήγματα, κατακτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας.
οὐ γὰρ δή, ὡς οἴκασι, ἐβουλέατο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι.
144 Ἐπειδὴ ὦν ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατά-
γοντες Συλοσῶντα, οὔτε τίς σφι χεῖρας ἀνταείρεται, ὑπό-
σπονδοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι ἑτοῖμοι οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στα-
σιῶται, καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιάνδριος, ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου.
καταινέσαντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισι Ὀτάνεω καὶ σπεισαμένου,
τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμενοι, κατεναν-
145 τίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐκατέατο. Μαιανδρίῳ δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ
ἦν ἀδελφεὸς ὑπομαργότερος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Χαρίλεως· οὗ-
τος ὅ τι δὴ ἐξαμαρτών, ἐν γοργύρῃ ἐδέδετο· καὶ δὴ τότε
ἐπακούσας τε τὰ πρησσόμενα, καὶ διακύψας διὰ τῆς
γοργύρης, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρηναίως κατημένους,
ἐβόα τε καὶ ἔφη λέγων, Μαιανδρίῳ θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λό-
γους. ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος, λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέ-
λευε ἄγειν παρ' ἑωυτόν. ὡς δὲ ἄχθη τάχιστα, λοιδορέων
τε καὶ κακίζων μιν, ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι,
λέγων τοιάδε· "Ἐμὲ μέν, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἐόντα σεωυ-
"τοῦ ἀδελφεόν, καὶ ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ, δή-
"σας γοργύρης ἠξίωσας· ὁρέων δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλον-
"τάς τε σε καὶ ἄοικον ποιεῦντας, οὐ τολμᾷς τίσασθαι,
"οὕτω δή τι ἐόντας εὐπετέας χειρωθῆναι; Ἀλλ', εἴ τι
"σύ σφεας καταρρώδηκας, ἐμοὶ δὸς τοὺς ἐπικούρους, καί
"σφεας ἐγὼ τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπίξιος· αὐτὸν δέ

“ σε ἐκπέμψαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἑτοῖμός εἰμι.” Ταῦτα ἔλεξε 146
ὁ Χαρίλεως. Μαιάνδριος δὲ ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὲν
ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος, ὡς δόξαι
τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλέος, ἀλλὰ φθο-
νήσας μᾶλλον Συλοσῶντι, εἰ ἀπονητὶ ἔμελλε ἀπολάμψε-
σθαι ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν. ἐρεθίσας ὦν τοὺς Πέρσας,
ἤθελε ὡς ἀσθενέστατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα, καὶ
οὕτω παραδιδόναι· εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος, ὡς παθόντες οἱ Πέρ-
σαι κακῶς, προσεμπικρανέεσθαι ἔμελλον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι·
εἰδώς τε ἑωυτῷ ἀσφαλέα ἔκδυσιν ἐοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς νήσου
τότε, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἐπεποίητο γάρ οἱ κρυπτὴ
διώρυξ, ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. Αὐ-
τὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλέει ἐκ τῆς Σάμου· τοὺς δὲ
ἐπικούρους πάντας ὁπλίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας
τὰς πύλας, ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, οὔτε προσδεκομένους
τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν, δοκέοντάς τε δὴ πάντα συμβεβάναι. ἐμ-
πεσόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι, τῶν Περσέων τοὺς διφροφορευ-
μένους τε καὶ λόγου πλείστου ἐόντας ἔκτεινον. καὶ οὗτοι
μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίευν, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὴ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπε-
βοήθεε· πιεζεύμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι, ὀπίσω κατειλήθησαν
ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ὀτάνης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς, ἰδὼν πάθος 147
μέγα Πέρσας πεπονθότας, ἐντολάς τε, τὰς Δαρεῖός οἱ
ἀποστέλλων ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων,
μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, ἀπαθέα τε κακῶν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν
νῆσον Συλοσῶντι· τουτέων μὲν τῶν ἐντολέων μεμνημένος
ἐπελανθάνετο· ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιῇ, πάντα τὸν
ἂν λάβωσι, καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα, ὁμοίως κτείνειν. ἐν-
θαῦτα τῆς στρατιῆς οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιόρκεον,
οἱ δὲ ἔκτεινον πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον, ὁμοίως ἔν τε
ἱρῷ καὶ ἔξω ἱροῦ. Μαιάνδριος δ' ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, 148
ἐκπλέει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα· ἀπικόμενος δ' ἐς αὐτὴν, καὶ ἀν-
ενεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, ἐποίεε τοιάδε. ὅκως
ποτήρια ἀργύρεά τε καὶ χρύσεα προθεῖτο, οἱ μὲν θερά-
ποντες αὐτοῦ ἐξέσμων αὐτά· ὁ δὲ ἂν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον
τῷ Κλεομένεϊ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδεω ἐν λόγοισι ἐὼν, βασι-
λεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγέ μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ὅκως δὲ ἴδοιτο
Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο·
ὁ δὲ ἂν ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεσθαι αὐτῶν ὅσα βούλοιτο.

τοῦτο καὶ δὶς καὶ τρὶς εἴπαντος Μαιανδρίου, ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιότατος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται· ὃς λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα οὐκ ἐδικαίευ· μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοισι διδοὺς τῶν ἀστῶν εὑρήσεται τιμωρίην, βὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἄμεινον εἶναι ἔφη τῇ Σπάρτῃ, τὸν ξεῖνον τὸν Σάμιον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἵνα μὴ ἀναπείσῃ ἢ αὐτὸν, ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ Σπαρτιητέων, κακὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ δ' ὑπακούσαντες,
149 *ἐξεκήρυξαν Μαιάνδριον. Τὴν δὲ Σάμον σαγηνεύσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι, παρέδοσαν Συλοσῶντι, ἐρῆμον ἐοῦσαν ἀνδρῶν. ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ καὶ συγκατοίκισε αὐτὴν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ὀτάνης, ἔκ τε ὄψιος ὀνείρου, καὶ νούσου ἥ μιν κατέλαβε νοσῆσαι τὰ αἰδοῖα.*

150 *Ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμον στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οἰχομένου, Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν, κάρτα εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι. ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ ὅ τε Μάγος ἦρχε, καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπανέστησαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίην παρεσκευάδατο· καί κως ταῦτα ποιεῦντες ἐλάνθανον. Ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἀπέστησαν, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· τὰς μητέρας ἐξελόντες, γυναῖκα ἕκαστος μίαν προσεξαιρέετο, τὴν ἐβούλετο, ἐκ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκίων· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἁπάσας συναγαγόντες, ἀπέπνιξαν· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἕκαστος σιτοποιὸν ἐξαιρέετο. ἀπέπνιξαν δὲ αὐτὰς, ἵνα μή σφεων τὸν*
151 *σῖτον ἀναισιμώσωσι. Πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ συλλέξας ἅπασαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτούς. ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐπολιόρκεε φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίης. ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχεῶνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, κατωρχέοντο, καὶ κατέσκωπτον Δαρεῖον καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν αὐτοῦ. καί τις αὐτῶν εἶπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος· "Τί κάτησθε "ἐνθαῦτα, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ "αἱρήσετε ἡμέας, ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τέκωσι." Τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων, οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων ἂν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν.*
152 *Ἑπτὰ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότος ἤδη, ὁ Δαρεῖός τε ἤσχαλλε, καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα, οὐ δυνατὴ ἐοῦσα ἑλεῖν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους· καί τοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας μηχανὰς ἐπεποιήκεε ἐς αὐτοὺς Δαρεῖος. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς ἐδύνατο ἑλεῖν σφέας, ἄλλοισί τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Κῦρος εἷλέ σφεας, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπει-*

ρήθη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῇσι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδέ σφεας οἷός τε ἦν ἑλεῖν.

Ἐνθαῦτα, εἰκοστῷ μηνὶ, Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου τού- 153
του, ὃς τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, τούτῳ Μεγαβύζου παιδὶ Ζωπύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τόδε· τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων ἡμιόνων μία ἔτεκε. ὡς δέ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη, καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης αὐτὸς ὁ Ζώπυρος εἶδε τὸ βρέφος, ἀπείπας τοῖσι δούλοισι μηδενὶ φράζειν τὸ γεγονὸς, ἐβουλεύετο. καί οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ῥήματα, ὃς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφησε, ἐπεάν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τεῖχος ἁλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν φήμην Ζωπύρῳ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἁλώσιμος ἤδη ἡ Βαβυλών· σὺν γὰρ θεῷ ἐκεῖνόν τε εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἑωυτῷ τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον. Ὡς δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσι- 154
μον εἶναι ἤδη τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἁλίσκεσθαι, προσελθὼν Δαρείῳ ἀπεπυνθάνετο, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιέεται τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἑλεῖν. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῷτο, ἄλλο ἐβουλεύετο, ὅκως αὐτός τε ἔσται ὁ ἑλὼν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἑωυτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἔσται· κάρτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι αἱ ἀγαθοεργίαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται. Ἄλλῳ μέν νυν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργῳ δυνατὸς εἶναί μιν ὑποχειρίην ποιῆσαι, εἰ δ' ἑωυτὸν λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσειε ἐς αὐτούς. Ἐνθαῦτα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος, ἑωυτὸν λωβᾶται λώβην ἀνήκεστον· ἀποταμὼν γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ τὴν ῥῖνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα, καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς περικείρας, καὶ μαστιγώσας, ἦλθε παρὰ Δαρεῖον. Δαρεῖος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἤνεικε, 155
ἰδὼν ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον· ἔκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας, ἀνέβωσέ τε καὶ εἴρετό μιν, ὅστις εἴη ὁ λωβησάμενος, καὶ ὅ τι ποιήσαντα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Οὐκ ἔστι "οὗτος ὡνὴρ ὅτι μὴ σὺ, τῷ ἔστι δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ "δὴ ὧδε διαθεῖναι· οὔτε τις ἀλλοτρίων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τάδε "ἔργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωυτόν· δεινόν τι ποιεύμε"νος Ἀσσυρίους Πέρσῃσι καταγελᾶν." Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο· "Ὦ σχετλιώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἔργῳ τῷ αἰσχίστῳ οὔνομα τὸ "κάλλιστον ἔθευ, φὰς διὰ τοὺς πολιορκευμένους σεωυτὸν "ἀνηκέστως διαθεῖναι· τί δ', ὦ μάταιε, λελωβημένου σεῦ, "θᾶσσον οἱ πολέμιοι παραστήσονται; κῶς οὐκ ἐξέπλω"σας τῶν φρενῶν, σεωυτὸν διαφθείρας;" Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Εἰ μέν τοι ὑπερετίθεα τὰ ἔμελλον ποιήσειν, οὐκ ἄν με

"περιεῖδες· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμεωυτοῦ βαλόμενος, ἔπρηξα. ἤδη "ὦν, ἢν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ, αἱρέομεν Βαβυλῶνα. Ἐγὼ "μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ἔχω, αὐτομολήσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ φήσω "πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὡς ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε πέπονθα· καὶ δοκέω, "πείσας σφέας ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω, τεύξεσθαι στρατιῆς. "σὺ δὲ, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ἐγὼ ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ "ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην, τῆς σεωυτοῦ στρατιῆς, τῆς "οὐδεμία ἔσται ἄρη ἀπολλυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξον "κατὰ τὰς Σεμιράμιος καλεομένας πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὖτις, "ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἑβδόμην, ἄλλους μοι τάξον δισχι-"λίους κατὰ τὰς Νινίων καλεομένας πύλας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς "ἑβδόμης διαλείπειν εἴκοσι ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλους "κάτισον, ἀγαγὼν κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαίων καλεομένας πύ-"λας, τετρακισχιλίους. ἐχόντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι "μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυνούντων, μήτε οὗτοι, πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων· "τοῦτο δὲ ἐᾶν ἔχειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἡμέρην, ἰθέως "τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὴν κελεύειν πέριξ προσβάλλειν "πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, Πέρσας δέ μοι τάξον κατά τε τὰς Βηλί-"δας καλεομένας πύλας καὶ Κισσίας. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ δο-"κέω, ἐμέο μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπι-"τράψονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλέων "τὰς βαλανάγρας. τὸ δ' ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐμοί τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι "μελήσει τὰ δεῖ ποιέειν."

156 Ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος, ἤϊε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας· ἐπιστρεφόμενος, ὡς δὴ ἀληθέως αὐτόμολος. ὁρέοντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι, κατέτρεχον κάτω· καὶ ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἑτέρην πύλην, εἰρώτεον τίς τε εἴη, καὶ ὅτευ δεόμενος ἥκοι. ὁ δέ σφι ἠγόρευε, ὡς εἴη τε Ζώπυρος, καὶ αὐτομολέοι ἐς ἐκείνους. ἦγον δή μιν οἱ πυλουροὶ, ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ, κατοικτίζετο, φὰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπονθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθεε ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ· παθέειν δὲ ταῦτα, διότι συμβουλεῦσαι οἱ ἀπανιστάναι τὴν στρατιὴν, ἐπεί τε οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἁλώσιος. "Νῦν τε, "ἔφη λέγων, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι, ἥκω μέγιστον "ἀγαθὸν, Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ καὶ Πέρσῃσι μέγι-"στον κακόν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμέ γε ὧδε λωβησάμενος, κατα-"προΐξεται· ἐπίσταμαι δ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν

"βουλευμάτων." Τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὁρέοντες ἄνδρα τῶν ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκιμώτατον ῥινός τε καὶ ὤτων ἐστερημένον, μάστιξί τε καὶ αἵματι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα, καί σφι ἥκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτράπεσθαι ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐδέετο σφέων. ἐδέετο δὲ στρατιῆς. Ὁ δὲ, ἐπεί τε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίεε τά περ τῷ Δαρείῳ συνεθήκατο. ἐξαγαγὼν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χιλίους, τοὺς πρώτους ἐνετείλατο Δαρείῳ τάξαι, τούτους κατεφόνευσε. μαθόντες δέ μιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῖσι ἔπεσι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὅμοῖα, πάγχυ περιχαρέες ἐόντες, πᾶν δὴ ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετέειν. ὁ δὲ, διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκειμένας, αὖτις ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτέων τοὺς δισχιλίους. ἰδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἰνέοντες. ὁ δὲ, αὖτις διαλιπὼν τὰς συγκειμένας ἡμέρας, ἐξήγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον· καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος, καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὗτός σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέδεκτο. 158 Προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ποιευμένου πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἠμύνοντο τὴν Δαρείου στρατιὴν προσβάλλουσαν· ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τάς τε Κισσίας καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας, ἐσῆκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οἳ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθὲν, οὗτοι ἔφευγον ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱρόν· οἳ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον, ἔμενον ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ τάξι ἕκαστος, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἔμαθον προδεδομένοι.

157 (margin, line 1)

159 Βαβυλὼν μέν νυν οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον αἱρέθη. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεί τε ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, τοῦτο μέν σφεων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε, καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἑλὼν Κῦρος τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον· τοῦτο δὲ, ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκολόπισε, τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκέειν. ὡς

δ' ἕξουσι γυναῖκας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, ἵνα σφι γένεα ὑπογίνηται, τάδε Δαρεῖος προϊδὼν ἐποίησε· (τὰς γὰρ ἑωυτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς δεδήλωται, ἀπέπνιξαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, τοῦ σίτου προορέωντες·) ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοίκοισι ἔθνεσι γυναῖκας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ ἑκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσων, ὥστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαίωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνῆλθε· ἐκ τουτέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόνασι.

160 Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ Δαρείῳ κριτῇ, οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων, οὔτε τῶν πρότερον, ὅτι μὴ Κῦρος μοῦνος· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδεὶς Περσέων ἠξίωσέ κω ἑωυτὸν συμβαλέειν. Πολλάκις δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὡς βούλοιτο ἂν Ζώπυρον εἶναι ἀπαθέα τῆς ἀεικίης μᾶλλον, ἢ Βαβυλῶνάς οἱ εἴκοσι πρὸς τῇ ἐούσῃ προσγενέσθαι. ἐτίμησε δέ μιν μεγάλως· καὶ γὰρ δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσῃσί ἐστι τιμιώτατα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνά οἱ ἔδωκε ἀτελέα νέμεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου ζόης· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπέδωκε. Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Μεγάβυζος, ὃς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀντία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐστρατήγησε· Μεγαβύζου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Ζώπυρος, ὃς ἐς Ἀθήνας αὐτομόλησε ἐκ Περσέων.

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Γ'.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ
ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ.

ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕΝΗ.

ΜΕΤΑ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἵρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας 1
αὖ τοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις. Ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροι, ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιουμένους, ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίης. Τῆς γὰρ ἄνω Ἀσίης ἦρξαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους· οὗτοι γὰρ, πρὶν ἢ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι, ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης. Τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατιόντας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ἐξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὗρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφι στρατιὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην. αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθέων γυναῖκες, ὥς σφι οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνον πολλὸν, ἐφοίτεον παρὰ
τοὺς δούλους. Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυ- 2
φλοῦσι, τοῦ γάλακτος εἵνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι, ποιεῦντες ὧδε· ἐπεὰν φυσητῆρας λάβωσι ὀστεΐνους αὐλοῖσι προσεμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα, φυσῶσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἄλλοι δὲ, ἄλλων φυσεόντων, ἀμέλγουσι. φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τοῦτο ποιέειν· τὰς φλέβας τε πίμπλασθαι φυσεωμένας τῆς ἵππου, καὶ τὸ οὖθαρ κατίεσθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ξύλινα ἀγγήϊα κοῖλα, καὶ περιστίξαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήϊα τοὺς τυφλοὺς, δονέουσι τὸ γάλα. καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες, ἡγεῦνται εἶναι τιμιώτερον· τὸ δ' ὑπιστάμενον, ἧσσον τοῦ ἑτέρου. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἅπαντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι·

3 *οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ, ἀλλὰ νομάδες. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὦν
σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπετράφη νεότης· οἳ
ἐπεί τε ἔμαθον τὴν σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἠντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι
κατιοῦσι ἐκ τῶν Μήδων. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώρην
ἀπετάμοντο, τάφρον ὀρυξάμενοι εὐρέαν, κατατείνουσαν
ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν οὐρέων ἐς τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην, ἥπερ
ἐστὶ μεγίστη· μετὰ δὲ, πειρεωμένοισι ἐσβάλλειν τοῖσι
Σκύθῃσι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο. γινομένης δὲ μάχης
πολλάκις, καὶ οἱ δυναμένων οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυ-
θέων τῇ μάχῃ, εἶς αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε· "Οἷα ποιεῦμεν,
" ἄνδρες Σκύθαι; δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι,
" αὐτοί τε ἐλάσσονες κτεινόμενοι γινόμεθα, καὶ ἐκείνους
" κτείνοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν. νῦν ὦν μοι
" δοκέει αἰχμὰς μὲν καὶ τόξα μετεῖναι· λαβόντα δὲ ἕκα-
" στον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα, ἰέναι ἆσσον αὐτῶν.
" μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὥρεον ἡμέας ὅπλα ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐνό-
" μιζον ὁμοῖοί τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι· ἐπεὰν δὲ
" ἴδωνται μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὅπλων ἔχοντας, μαθόντες ὡς
" εἰσι ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι, καὶ συγγνόντες τοῦτο, οὐκ ὑπο-
4 " μενέουσι." Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐποίευν
ἐπιτελέα. οἱ δ' ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινομένῳ, τῆς μάχης τε
ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ ἔφευγον. Οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς τε Ἀσίης
ἦρξαν, καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὖτις ὑπὸ Μήδων, κατῆλθον
τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ Δα-
ρεῖος τίσασθαι βουλόμενος, συνήγειρε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρά-
τευμα.*

5 *Ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον ἁπάντων ἐθνέων
εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον· τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὧδε. ἄνδρα γενέ-
σθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἐούσῃ ἐρήμῳ, τῷ οὔνομα
εἶναι Ταργίταον· τοῦ δὲ Ταργιτάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας
λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὦν,
Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθένεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. γένεος
μὲν τοιούτου δή τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργίταον· τούτου δὲ
γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Λειπόξαϊν, καὶ Ἀρπόξαϊν, καὶ
νεώτατον Κολάξαϊν. Ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων, ἐκ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα χρύσεα ποιήματα, ἄροτρόν τε καὶ ζυγὸν
καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην, πεσέειν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικήν. καὶ
τῶν ἰδόντα πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἆσσον ἰέναι, βου-*

λόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν· τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν, ἐπιόντος, καίεσθαι· ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου, προσιέναι τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τὸν αὖτις ταὐτὰ ποιέειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ καιόμενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσασθαι· τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι, καί μιν ἐκεῖνον κομίσαι ἐς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνόντας, τὴν βασιληΐην πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ. Ἀπὸ μὲν 6
δὴ Λειποξάϊος γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων, οἳ Αὐχάται γένος καλέονται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάϊος, οἳ Κατίαροί τε καὶ Τράσπιες καλέονται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοὺς βασιλῆας, οἳ καλέονται Παραλάται· σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὔνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέος ἐπωνυμίην. Σκύθας δὲ Ἕλληνες οὐνόμασαν. Γεγονέναι 7
μέν νυν σφεας ὧδε λέγουσι οἱ Σκύθαι· ἔτεα δέ σφι, ἐπεί τε γεγόνασι, τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλῆος Ταργιτάου ἐς τὴν Δαρείου διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ σφέας, χιλίων οὐ πλέω, ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα. Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἱ βασιλῆες ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίῃσι μεγάλῃσι ἱλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ὃς δ᾽ ἂν ἔχων τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ ὑπαίθριος κατακοιμηθῇ, οὗτος λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθέων οὐ διενιαυτίζειν· δίδοσθαι δέ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἂν ἵππῳ ἐν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ περιελάσῃ αὐτός. Τῆς δὲ χώρης ἐούσης μεγάλης, τριφασίας τὰς βασιληΐας τοῖσι παισὶ τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαϊν· καὶ τουτέων μίαν μεγίστην ποιῆσαι, ἐν τῇ τὸν χρυσὸν φυλάσσεσθαι. Τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορῆν λέγουσι ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρης, οὐκ οἷά τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὔτε ὁρᾶν, οὔτε διεξιέναι, ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων· πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἠέρα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκληΐοντα τὴν ὄψιν.

Σκύθαι μὲν ὧδε ὑπὲρ σφέων τε αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς χώρης 8
τῆς κατύπερθε λέγουσι· Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες, ὧδε. Ἡρακλέα, ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνεω βοῦς, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἐρήμην, ἥν τινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται. Γηρυόνεα δὲ οἰκέειν, ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου κατοικημένον, τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι Ἐρύθειαν νῆσον, τὴν πρὸς Γηδείροισι τοῖσι ἔξω Ἡρακληΐων στη-

λέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνῦσι. ἐνθεῦτεν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώρην καλεομένην. καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνά τε καὶ κρυμόν· ἐπειρυσάμενον δὲ τὴν λεοντῆν, κατυπνῶσαι· τὰς δέ οἱ ἵππους τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀφανισθῆναι

9 θείῃ τύχῃ. Ὡς δ' ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, διζῆσθαι. πάντα δὲ τὰ τῆς χώρης ἐπεξελθόντα, τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην καλεομένην γῆν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὑρεῖν ἐν ἄντρῳ μιξοπάρθενόν τινα ἔχιδναν διφυέα· τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτέων, εἶναι γυναικός· τὰ δὲ ἔνερθεν, ὄφιος. ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θωυμάσαντα, ἐπείρεσθαί μιν εἴ κου ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας· τὴν δὲ φάναι, ἑωυτὴν ἔχειν, καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἤ οἱ μιχθῆναι· τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ. κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἡρακλέϊ· καὶ τὸν, κομισάμενον, ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. τέλος δὲ, ἀποδιδοῦσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν· "Ἵππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομένας ἐνθάδε, "ἔσωσά τοι ἐγώ· σῶστρα δὲ σὺ παρέσχες, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ "σεῦ τρεῖς παῖδας ἔχω. τούτους, ἐπεὰν γένωνται τρό-"φιες, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιέειν, ἐξηγέο σύ· εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω, "χώρης γὰρ τῆσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος αὐτὴ, εἴτε ἀποπέμπω "παρὰ σέ." Τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρωτᾶν· τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· "Ἐπεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας ἴδηαι τοὺς "παῖδας, τάδε ποιεῦσα οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοις. τὸν μὲν ἂν ὁρᾷς αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ὧδε διατεινόμενον, καὶ τῷ ζω-"στῆρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ζωννύμενον, τοῦτον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς "χώρης οἰκήτορα ποιεῦ· ὃς δ' ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν "ἐντέλλομαι λίπηται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρης. καὶ ταῦτα "ποιεῦσα, αὐτή τε εὐφρανέαι, καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιή-

10 σεις." Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἕτερον, δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἡρακλέα, καὶ τὸν ζωστῆρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ζωστῆρα, ἔχοντα ἐπ' ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλην χρυσέην· διδόντα δὲ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. τὴν δ', ἐπεί οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδρωθῆναι, τοῦτο μέν σφι οὐνόματα θέσθαι· τῷ μὲν,

Ἀγάθυρσον, αὐτῶν· τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ, Γελωνόν· Σκύθην δὲ, τῷ νεωτάτῳ· τοῦτο δὲ, τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμνημένην αὐτὴν, ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. καὶ δὴ δύο μέν οἱ τῶν παίδων, τόν τε Ἀγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνὸν, οὐκ οἵους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, οἴχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς γειναμένης· τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην, ἐπιτελέσαντα, καταμεῖναι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθεω τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθέων· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης, ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας· τὸ δὴ μοῦνον μηχανήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθῃ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος, ἔχων ὧδε, τῷ μάλιστα 11
λεγομένῳ αὐτὸς πρόσκειμαι. Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας, οἰκέοντας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, πολέμῳ πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαγετέων, οἴχεσθαι διαβάντας ποταμὸν Ἀράξεα ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κιμμερίην· τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων. τοὺς δὲ Κιμμερίους, ἐπιόντων Σκυθέων, βουλεύεσθαι, ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος μεγάλου· καὶ δὴ τὰς γνώμας σφέων κεχωρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ἀμείνω δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων· τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου φέρειν γνώμην, ὡς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρῆγμα εἴη, μηδὲ πρὸς πολλοὺς δεόμενον κινδυνεύειν· τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων, διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρης τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι. οὔκων δὴ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι οὔτε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι τὸν δῆμον, οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς βασιλέας. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλεύεσθαι ἀμαχητὶ, τὴν χώρην παραδόντας τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι· τοῖσι δὲ βασιλεῦσι δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἑωυτῶν κέεσθαι ἀποθανόντας, μηδὲ συμφεύγειν τῷ δήμῳ· λογισαμένους ὅσα τε ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασι, καὶ ὅσα φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κακὰ ἐπίδοξα καταλαμβάνει. ὡς δὲ δόξαι σφι ταῦτα, διαστάντας, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἴσους γενομένους, μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν, ἀποθανόντας πάντας ὑπ' ἑωυτῶν, θάψαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην· καί σφεων ἔτι δῆλός ἐστι ὁ τάφος. θάψαντας δὲ, οὕτω τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρης ποιέεσθαι· Σκύθας δὲ ἐπελθόντας, λαβεῖν ἐρήμην τὴν χώρην.
Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, 12

ἔστι δὲ Πορθμήϊα Κιμμέρια· ἔστι δὲ καὶ χώρη οὔνομα Κιμμερίη· ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος, Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι, φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας, καὶ τὴν χερσόννησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἴκισται. φανεροὶ δέ εἰσι καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικὴν, ἁμαρτόντες τῆς ὁδοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμέριοι αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες, ἐδίωκον. ἐς ὃ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν γῆν, ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες. οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος εἴρηται.

13 Ἔφη δὲ Ἀριστέης ὁ Καϋστροβίου, ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος, ποιέων ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἰσσηδόνας, φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος· Ἰσσηδόνων δὲ ὑπεροικέειν Ἀριμασποὺς, ἄνδρας μουνοφθάλμους· ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων, τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας Γρύπας· τούτων δὲ, τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους, κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. τούτους ὦν πάντας πλὴν Ὑπερβορέων, ἀρξάντων Ἀριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι· καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἐξωθέεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρης Ἰσσηδόνας· ὑπὸ δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων, Σκύθας· Κιμμερίους δὲ, οἰκέοντας ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ, ὑπὸ Σκυθέων πιεζομένους, ἐκλείπειν τὴν χώρην. Οὕτω οὐδὲ οὗτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης Σκύθῃσι.

14 Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἔην Ἀριστέης, ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσας, εἴρηται· τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουον λόγον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ, λέξω. Ἀριστέην γὰρ λέγουσι, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένος ὑποδεέστερον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς κναφήϊον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ, ἀποθανεῖν· καὶ τὸν κναφέα κατακληΐσαντα τὸ ἐργαστήριον, οἴχεσθαι ἀγγελέοντα τοῖσι προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ. ἐσκεδασμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τεθνεὼς εἴη ὁ Ἀριστέης, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀπικέσθαι ἄνδρα Κυζικηνὸν, ἥκοντα ἐξ Ἀρτάκης πόλιος, φάντα συντυχεῖν τέ οἱ ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου, καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐντεταμένως ἀμφισβητέειν· τοὺς δὲ προσήκοντας τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ κναφήϊον παρεῖναι, ἔχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα, ὡς ἀναιρησομένους. ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος, οὔτε τεθνεῶτα οὔτε ζῶντα

φαίνεσθαι Ἀριστέην. μετὰ δὲ, ἑβδόμῳ ἔτεϊ φανέντα
αὐτὸν ἐς Προκόννησον, ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν
ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀριμάσπεα καλέεται· ποιήσαντα δὲ,
ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ δεύτερον. ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλιες αὗται
λέγουσι. Τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντίνοισι τοῖσι ἐν Ἰταλίῃ 15
συγκυρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἀριστέω
ἔτεσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίοισι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλό-
μενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὕρισκον. Με-
ταποντῖνοί φασι, αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην, φανέντα σφι ἐς τὴν
χώρην, κελεῦσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνι ἱδρύσασθαι, καὶ Ἀρι-
στέω τοῦ Προκοννησίου ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα
παρ' αὐτὸν ἱστάναι. φάναι γὰρ, σφὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα
Ἰταλιωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώρην, καὶ
αὐτός οἱ ἕπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἐὼν Ἀριστέης· τότε δὲ, ὅτε εἵπετο
τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ. καὶ τὸν, εἴπαντα ταῦτα, ἀφανι-
σθῆναι. σφέας δὲ, Μεταποντῖνοι λέγουσι, ἐς Δελφοὺς
πέμψαντας, τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρωτᾶν ὅ τι τὸ φάσμα τοῦ ἀν-
θρώπου εἴη. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν πείθεσθαι
τῷ φάσματι· πειθομένοισι δὲ, ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. καί
σφεας δεξαμένους ταῦτα, ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέα. Καὶ νῦν
ἕστηκε ἀνδριὰς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω, παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ
ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἑστᾶσι·
τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἵδρυται. Ἀριστέω μέν νυν
πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.
Τῆς δὲ γῆς, τῆς πέρι ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὥρμηται λέγεσθαι, 16
οὐδεὶς οἶδε ἀτρεκὲς ὅ τι τὸ κατύπερθέ ἐστι. οὐδενὸς γὰρ
δὴ αὐτόπτεω εἰδέναι φαμένου δύναμαι πυθέσθαι· οὐδὲ
γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἀριστέης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων
μνήμην ἐποιεύμην, οὐδὲ οὗτος προσωτέρω Ἰσσηδόνων,
ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ποιέων, ἔφησε ἀπικέσθαι· ἀλλὰ
τὰ κατύπερθε ἔλεγε ἀκοῇ, φὰς Ἰσσηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς
ταῦτα λέγοντας. Ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐπὶ
μακρότατον οἷοί τ' ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι, πᾶν εἰρή-
σεται. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενεϊτέων ἐμπορίου, τοῦτο γὰρ 17
τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς Σκυθίης,
ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιπίδαι νέμονται, ἐόντες Ἕλληνες
Σκύθαι· ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων, ἄλλο ἔθνος, οἳ Ἀλάζωνες κα-
λέονται. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Καλλιπίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ

ταῦτα Σκύθῃσι ἐπασκέουσι, σῖτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ
σιτέονται, καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς καὶ κέγ-
χρους. Ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀλαζώνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες,
οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσει σπείρουσι τὸν σῖτον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πρήσει.
τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί. Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ
πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον, ἐρῆμος ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.
ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ὕπανιν ποταμόν ἐστι ἔθνεα, πρὸς
18 ἑσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθένεος. Ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τὸν Βορυ-
σθένεα, ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ὑλαίη. ἀπὸ δὲ
ταύτης ἄνω οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοὶ, τοὺς Ἕλληνες οἱ
οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενεΐτας,
σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς, Ὀλβιοπολίτας. οὗτοι ὦν οἱ γεωργοὶ
Σκύθαι νέμονται, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας
ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὔνομα κεῖται Παντι-
κάπης· τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον, πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυ-
σθένεα ἡμερέων ἕνδεκα. ἡ δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἐρῆμός
ἐστι ἐπὶ πολλόν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρῆμον Ἀνδροφάγοι οἰκέ-
ουσι, ἔθνος ἐὸν ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν. τὸ δὲ τού-
των κατύπερθε, ἐρῆμος ἤδη ἀληθέως, καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων
19 οὐδὲν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ γεωργῶν
τούτων Σκυθέων, διαβάντι τὸν Παντικάπην ποταμὸν,
Νομάδες ἤδη Σκύθαι νέμονται, οὔτε τι σπείροντες οὐδὲν,
οὔτε ἀροῦντες· ψιλὴ δὲ δενδρέων πᾶσα αὕτη γῆ, πλὴν
τῆς Ὑλαίης. οἱ δὲ Νομάδες οὗτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, ἡμε-
ρέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὁδὸν, νέμονται χώρην κατατεί-
20 νουσαν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρον. Πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα
δὴ τὰ καλεύμενα Βασιλήϊά ἐστι, καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί
τε καὶ πλεῖστοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δού-
λους σφετέρους εἶναι. κατήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι, τὸ μὲν πρὸς
μεσαμβρίην, ἐς τὴν Ταυρικήν· τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ, ἐπί τε
τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ὤρυξαν, καὶ
ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος τὸ ἐμπόριον, τὸ καλέεται
Κρημνοί· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν.
Τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον τῶν βασιληΐων
Σκυθέων οἰκέουσι Μελάγχλαινοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος, καὶ οὐ
Σκυθικόν. Μελαγχλαίνων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε, λίμναι, καὶ
ἐρῆμός ἐστι ἀνθρώπων, κατόσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

21 Τάναϊν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι, οὐκέτι Σκυθική, ἀλλ' ἡ

μὲν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων ἐστί· οἳ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήτιδος λίμνης, νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον, ἡμερέων πεντεκαίδεκα ὁδὸν, πᾶσαν ἐοῦσαν ψιλὴν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δενδρέων. ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων, δευτέρην λάξιν ἔχοντες, Βουδῖνοι, γῆν νεμόμενοι πᾶσαν δασέην ὕλῃ παντοίῃ. Βουδίνων δὲ κατύ- 22
περθε πρὸς βορῆν, ἔστι πρώτη μὲν ἐρῆμος, ἐπ' ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ ὁδόν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρῆμον, ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον, νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον· ζώουσι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. Συνεχέες δὲ τούτοισι ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποισι κατοικημένοι εἰσὶ τοῖσι οὔνομα κεῖται Ἰῦρκαι, καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ θήρης ζώοντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. λοχᾷ, ἐπὶ δένδρεον ἀναβάς· (τὰ δέ ἐστι πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην·) ἵππος δὲ ἑκάστῳ, δεδιδαγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κεῖσθαι ταπεινότητος εἵνεκα, ἑτοῖμός ἐστι, καὶ κύων· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίδῃ τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δενδρέου, τοξεύσας καὶ ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον διώκει, καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιληΐων Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες, καὶ οὕτω ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον.

Μέχρι *μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθέων χώρης, ἔστι* 23
ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα πεδιάς τε γῆ καὶ βαθύγεος· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου, λιθώδης τ' ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχέη. διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέης χῶρον πολλὸν, οἰκέουσι ὑπώρεαν οὐρέων ὑψηλῶν ἄνθρωποι λεγόμενοι εἶναι πάντες φαλακροὶ, ἐκ γενεῆς γινόμενοι, καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεαι ὁμοίως, καὶ σιμοὶ, καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα· φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἱέντες· ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῇ· ζῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων. ποντικὸν μὲν οὔνομα τῷ δενδρέῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῶσι, μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκέην μάλιστά κῃ· καρπὸν δὲ φορέει κυάμῳ ἴσον, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει. τοῦτο ἐπεὰν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ἱματίοισι· ἀπορρέει δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παχὺ καὶ μέλαν· οὔνομα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντί ἐστι ἄσχυ. τοῦτο καὶ λείχουσι, καὶ γάλακτι συμμίσγοντες πίνουσι· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχύτητος αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγὸς παλάθας συντιθέασι, καὶ ταύτας σιτέονται. πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ πολλά ἐστι· οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαῖαι νομαὶ αὐτόθι εἰσί. Ὑπὸ δενδρέῳ δὲ ἕκαστος κατοίκηται· τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα, ἐπεὰν τὸ δένδρεον περικα-

λύψῃ πίλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ· τὸ δὲ θέρος, ἄνευ πίλου.
Τούτους οὐδεὶς ἀδικέει ἀνθρώπων· ἱροὶ γὰρ λέγονται εἶ-
ναι· οὐδέ τι ἀρήϊον ὅπλον ἐκτέαται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, τοῖσι
περιοικέουσι οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ τὰς διαφορὰς διαιρέοντες· τοῦ-
το δὲ, ὃς ἂν φεύγων καταφύγῃ ἐς τούτους, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς
ἀδικέεται. οὔνομα δέ σφί ἐστι Ἀργιππαῖοι.

24 Μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων, πολλὴ περι-
φάνεια τῆς χώρης ἐστὶ, καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐθνέων. καὶ
γὰρ Σκυθέων τινὲς ἀπικνέονται ἐς αὐτοὺς, τῶν οὐ χαλε-
πόν ἐστι πυθέσθαι, καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένεός τε
ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν ἐμπορίων. Σκυθέων
δὲ οἳ ἂν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτοὺς, δι' ἑπτὰ ἑρμηνέων καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ
25 γλωσσέων διαπρήσσονται. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γινώ-
σκεται. τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως
οἶδε φράσαι· οὔρεά τε γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα, καὶ
οὐδείς σφεα ὑπερβαίνει. οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι,
ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, οἰκέειν τὰ οὔρεα αἰγίποδας
ἄνδρας· ὑπερβάντι δὲ τούτους, ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἳ τὴν
ἑξάμηνον καθεύδουσι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι [τὴν] ἀρ-
χήν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἠῶ τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται
ἀτρεκέως, ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκεόμενον· τὸ μέντοι κατύ-
περθε πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον, οὐ γινώσκεται, οὔτε τῶν φαλα-
κρῶν, οὔτε τῶν Ἰσσηδόνων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα αὐτῶν τούτων
26 λεγόντων. Νόμοισι δὲ Ἰσσηδόνες τοιοισίδε λέγονται
χρᾶσθαι. Ἐπεὰν ἀνδρὶ ἀποθάνῃ πατὴρ, οἱ προσήκοντες
πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα· καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα θύσαν-
τες, καὶ καταταμόντες τὰ κρέα, κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν
τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεῶτα γονέα· ἀναμίξαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ
κρέα, δαῖτα προτιθέαται. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ψιλώ-
σαντες καὶ ἐκκαθήραντες, καταχρυσοῦσι· καὶ ἔπειτα ἅτε
ἀγάλματι χρέωνται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετέους ἐπιτελέον-
τες. παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τοῦτο ποιέει, κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες
τὰ γενέσια. ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι·
ἰσοκρατέες δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι. γινώ-
σκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὗτοι.

27 Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε, Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ
λέγοντες τοὺς μουνοφθάλμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς χρυ-
σοφύλακας Γρύπας εἶναι· παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παρα-

*λαβόντες λέγουσι· παρὰ δὲ Σκυθέων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νενο-
μίκαμεν, καὶ οὐνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς Σκυθιστὶ Ἀριμασπούς·
ἄριμα γὰρ ἓν καλέουσι Σκύθαι, σποῦ δὲ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν.
Δυσχείμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρη οὕτω* 28
*δή τί ἐστι, ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἷος
γίνεται κρυμὸς, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐκχέας, πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις·
πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων, ποιήσεις πηλόν. ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πήγνυ-
ται, καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυ-
στάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρης Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύ-
ονται, καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σινδούς.
οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας διατελέει χειμὼν ἐών· τοὺς
δ' ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχεα αὐτόθι ἐστί. Κεχώρισται
δὲ οὗτος ὁ χειμὼν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλοισι
χωρίοισι γινομένοισι χειμῶσι· ἐν τῷ τὴν μὲν ὡραίην οὐκ
ὕει λόγου ἄξιον οὐδέν· τὸ δὲ θέρος, ὕων οὐκ ἀνίει. βρον-
ταί τε ἦμος τῇ ἄλλῃ γίνονται, τηνικαῦτα μὲν οὐ γίνονται,
θέρεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες· ἢν δὲ χειμῶνος βροντὴ γένηται,
ὡς τέρας νενόμισται θωμάζεσθαι. ὣς δὲ καὶ ἢν σεισμὸς
γένηται, ἤν τε θέρεος ἤν τε χειμῶνος, ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ τέρας
νενόμισται. ἵπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα
τοῦτον, ἡμίονοι δὲ καὶ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχήν· τῇ δὲ
ἄλλῃ ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἑστεῶτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι,
ὄνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι ἀνέχονται. Δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ τὸ γέ-* 29
*νος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρεα αὐτόθι.
μαρτυρέει δέ μου τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὁμήρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσ-
σείῃ, ἔχον ὧδε·*

Καὶ Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι.

*ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον, ἐν τοῖσι θερμοῖσι ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ
κέρεα. ἐν δὲ τοῖσι ἰσχυροῖσι ψύχεσι ἢ οὐ φύει κέρεα τὰ
κτήνεα ἀρχὴν, ἢ φύοντα φύει μόγις. ἐνθαῦτα μέν νυν διὰ
τὰ ψύχεα γίνεται ταῦτα. Θωυμάζω δὲ, (προσθήκας γὰρ* 30
*δή μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο,) ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἠλείῃ πάσῃ
χώρῃ οὐ δυνέαται γίνεσθαι ἡμίονοι, οὔτε ψυχροῦ τοῦ
χώρου ἐόντος, οὔτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδενός. φασὶ
δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἠλεῖοι ἐκ κατάρης τευ οὐ γίνεσθαί σφι ἡμιόνους·
ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν προσίῃ ἡ ὥρη κυΐσκεσθαι τὰς ἵππους, ἐξελαύ-
νουσι ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους αὐτάς· καὶ ἔπειτά σφι ἐν τῇ*

τῶν πέλας ἐπιεῖσι τοὺς ὄνους, ἐς οὗ ἂν σχῶσι αἱ ἵπποι
31 ἐν γαστρί· ἔπειτα δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνουσι. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν, τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι ἀνάπλεων εἶναι τὸν ἠέρα, καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα οὐκ οἷά τε εἶναι οὔτε ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἠπείρου, οὔτε διεξιέναι, τήνδε ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν τὴν γνώμην. τὰ κατύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρης αἰεὶ νίφεται, ἐλάσσονι δὲ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός. ἤδη ὦν ὅστις ἀγχόθεν χιόνα ἁδρὴν πίπτουσαν εἶδε, οἶδε τὸ λέγω. ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ χιὼν πτεροῖσι· καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἐόντα τοιοῦτον, ἀοίκητα τὰ πρὸς βορῆν ἐστι τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης. τὰ ὦν πτερὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκέω λέγειν. Ταῦτα μέν νυν, τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα, εἴρηται.

32 Ὑπερβορέων δὲ πέρι ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι, οὔτε τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἰσσηδόνες. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' οὗτοι λέγουσι οὐδέν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ἂν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὡς περὶ τῶν μουνοφθάλμων λέγουσι. Ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ μέν ἐστι περὶ Ὑπερβορέων εἰρημένα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ ἐν Ἐπιγόνοισι, εἰ δὴ τῷ
33 ἐόντι γε Ὅμηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε. Πολλῷ δέ τι πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δήλιοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν, ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων φερόμενα, ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς Σκύθας· ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἑκάστους, κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ἑκαστάτω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα πρώτους Δωδωναίους Ἑλλήνων δέκεσθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον, καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὔβοιαν· πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν, μέχρι Καρύστου· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἐκλιπεῖν Ἄνδρον· Καρυστίους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τῆνον· Τηνίους δὲ, ἐς Δῆλον. ἀπικνέεσθαι μέν νυν ταῦτα τὰ ἱρὰ οὕτω λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον. πρῶτον δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἱρὰ δύο κόρας, τὰς οὐνομάζουσι Δήλιοι εἶναι Ὑπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην· ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀσφαλίης εἵνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρας πέντε πομποὺς, τούτους οἳ νῦν Περφερέες καλέονται, τιμὰς μεγάλας ἐν Δήλῳ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖσι Ὑπερβορέοισι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας ὀπίσω οὐκ ἀπο-

*νοστέειν, δεινὰ ποιευμένους εἰ σφέας αἰεὶ καταλάμψεται
ἀποστέλλοντας μὴ ἀποδέκεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ φέροντας ἐς
τοὺς οὔρους τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμῃ τοῖς
πλησιοχώροις ἐπισκήπτειν, κελεύοντας προπέμπειν σφέα
ἀπὸ ἑωυτῶν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω προπεμ-
πόμενα, ἀπικνέεσθαι λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον. Οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς
τούτοισι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τόδε ποιεύμενον προσφερές· τὰς
Θρηϊκίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναῖκας, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῇ
Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Βασιληΐῃ, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν καλάμης θυούσας
τὰ ἱρά. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἶδα ταύτας ποιεύσας. Τῇσι* 34
*δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτῃσι τῇσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησά-
σῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ, κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ
Δηλίων· αἱ μέν, πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι,
καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον εἱλίξασαι, ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι· (τὸ
δὲ σῆμά ἐστι ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς
χειρός· ἐπιπέφυκε δέ οἱ ἐλαίη·) οἱ δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων,
περὶ χλόην τινὰ εἱλίξαντες τῶν τριχῶν, προτιθεῖσι καὶ
οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα. αὗται μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν
ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν Δήλου οἰκητόρων. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοί,* 35
*καὶ τὴν Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὦπιν, ἐούσας παρθένους, ἐξ
Ὑπερβορέων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευ-
ομένας, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δῆλον ἔτι πρότερον Ὑπερόχης τε
καὶ Λαοδίκης. ταύτας μέν νυν τῇ Εἰλειθυίῃ ἀποφερού-
σας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπικέσθαι·
τὴν δὲ Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὦπιν ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι
ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι, καί σφι τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς
σφέων· καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπονομαζού-
σας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ, τόν σφι Ὠλὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος
ἐποίησε· παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἴω-
νας, ὑμνέειν Ὦπίν τε καὶ Ἄργην, ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ
ἀγείροντας· (οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὠλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς πα-
λαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε, ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλθών, τοὺς ἀειδομέ-
νους ἐν Δήλῳ·) καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ
βωμῷ τὴν σποδὸν, ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην τῆς Ὤπιός τε
καὶ Ἄργης ἀναισιμοῦσθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην. ἡ δὲ θήκη
αὐτέων ἐστὶ ὄπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, πρὸς ἠῶ τετραμ-
μένη, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κηΐων ἱστιητορίου. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν* 36
Ὑπερβορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω. τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀβάριος

λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὑπερβορέω οὐ λέγω, λέγων ὡς τὸν ὀϊστὸν περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος. Εἰ δέ εἰσί τινες Ὑπερβόρεοι ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι. γελῶ δὲ ὁρέων γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη, καὶ οὐδένα νόον ἔχοντας ἐξηγησάμενον· οἳ Ὠκεανόν τε ῥέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν, ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου· καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιεύντων ἴσην. ἐν ὀλίγοισι γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἑκάστης αὐτέων, καὶ οἵη τίς ἐστι ἐς γραφὴν ἑκάστη.

37 Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν, τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην. τούτων δ' ὑπεροικέουσι πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου, Μῆδοι· Μήδων δὲ, Σάσπειρες· Σασπείρων δὲ, Κόλχοι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν βορηΐην θάλασσαν, ἐς τὴν Φάσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ. ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα

38 οἰκέει ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης, ἀκταὶ διφάσιαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι. ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ ἑτέρη, τὰ πρὸς βορῆν ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη, παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν παρά τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, μέχρι Σιγείου τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότου, ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη ἀκτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριανδρικοῦ κόλπου, τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκῃ κειμένου, τείνει τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν μέχρι Τριοπίου ἄκρης. οἰκέει δ' ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ ταύτῃ ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριή-

39 κοντα. αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ ἑτέρη τῶν ἀκτέων. Ἡ δὲ δὴ ἑτέρη, ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀρξαμένη, παρατέταται ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν· ἥ τε Περσικὴ, καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη Ἀσσυρίη, καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίης ἡ Ἀραβίη. λήγει δὲ αὕτη (οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμῳ) ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον, ἐς τὸν Δαρεῖος ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε. Μέχρι μέν νυν Φοινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων, χῶρος πλατὺς καὶ πολλός ἐστι· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ Φοινίκης παρήκει διὰ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀκτὴ αἵτη παρά τε Συρίην τὴν Παλαιστίνην, καὶ Αἴγυπτον, ἐς τὴν τελευτᾷ· ἐν τῇ ἔθνεά ἐστι τρία μοῦνα. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ Περσέων τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρης

40 τῆς Ἀσίης ἔχοντά ἐστι. Τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε Περσέων, καὶ Μήδων, καὶ Σασπείρων, καὶ Κόλχων, τὰ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἠέλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ παρήκει θάλασσα· πρὸς βορέω δὲ ἡ Κασπίη τε θάλασσα, καὶ ὁ

Ἀράξης ποταμός, ῥέων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκέεται Ἀσίη· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐρῆμος ἤδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, οὐδ' ἔχει οὐδεὶς φράσαι οἷον δή τί ἐστι. Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ Ἀσίη ἐστί.

Ἡ δὲ Λιβύη ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἐστί· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰ- 41
γύπτου Λιβύη ἤδη ἐκδέκεται. κατὰ μέν νυν Αἴγυπτον ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη στεινή ἐστι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, δέκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ ὀργυιέων· αὗται δ' ἂν εἶεν χίλιοι στάδιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στεινοῦ τούτου κάρτα πλατέα τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἥτις Λιβύη
κέκληται. Θωυμάζω ὦν τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων 42
Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστί. μήκεϊ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἡ Εὐρώπη· εὖρεος δὲ πέρι, οὐδὲ συμβαλέειν ἀξίη φαίνεταί μοι εἶναι. Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ ἑωυτὴν, ἐοῦσα περίρρυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζει· Νεκῶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέος πρώτου τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, καταδέξαντος. ὃς ἐπεί τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐπαύσατο ὀρύσσων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, ἀπέπεμψε Φοίνικας ἄνδρας πλοίοισι, ἐντειλάμενος ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω δι' Ἡρακληΐων στηλέων διεκπλέειν ἕως ἐς τὴν βορηΐην θάλασσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικνέεσθαι. Ὁρμηθέντες ὦν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης, ἔπλεον τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν. ὅκως δὲ γίνοιτο φθινόπωρον, προσίσχοντες ἂν σπείρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ἑκάστοτε τῆς Λιβύης πλέοντες γινοίατο, καὶ μένεσκον τὸν ἄμητον· θερίσαντες δ' ἂν τὸν σῖτον, ἔπλεον· ὥστε δύο ἐτέων διεξελθόντων, τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ κάμψαντες Ἡρακληΐας στήλας, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἔλεγον, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ, ἄλλῳ δὲ δή τεῳ, ὡς περιπλώοντες τὴν Λιβύην, τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιά. οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη
τὸ πρῶτον. Μετὰ δὲ, Καρχηδόνιοί εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες. 43
ἐπεὶ Σατάσπης γε ὁ Τεάσπιος, ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιμενίδης, οὐ περιέπλωσε Λιβύην, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθείς· ἀλλὰ δείσας τό τε μῆκος τοῦ πλόου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην, ἀπῆλθε ὀπίσω, οὐδ' ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξέ οἱ ἡ μήτηρ ἄεθλον. Θυγατερα γὰρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου ἐβιήσατο παρθένον· ἔπειτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην

ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω βασιλέος, ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος, ἐοῦσα Δαρείου ἀδελφεὴ, παραιτήσατο, φᾶσά οἱ αὐτὴ μέζω ζημίην ἐπιθήσειν ἤπερ ἐκεῖνον· Λιβύην γάρ οἱ ἀνάγκην ἔσεσθαι περιπλώειν, ἐς ὃ ἂν ἀπίκηται, περιπλέων αὐτὴν, ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξεω ἐπὶ τούτοισι, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος ἐς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ λαβὼν νέα τε καὶ ναύτας παρὰ τούτων, ἔπλεε παρὰ Ἡρακληΐας στήλας. διεκπλώσας δὲ, καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Λιβύης, τῷ οὔνομα Σολόεις ἐστὶ, ἔπλεε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην· περήσας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλὴν ἐν πολλοῖσι μήνεσι, ἐπεί τε τοῦ πλεῦνος αἰεὶ ἔδεε, ἀποστρέψας ὀπίσω, ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. Ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Ξέρξεα, ἔλεγε φὰς τὰ προσωτάτω ἀνθρώπους σμικροὺς παραπλέειν, ἐσθῆτι φοινικηΐῃ διαχρεωμένους· οἳ, ὅκως σφεῖς καταγοίατο τῇ νηῒ, φεύγεσκον πρὸς τὰ οὔρεα, λείποντες τὰς πόλιας· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδικέειν οὐδὲν ἐσιόντες, πρόβατα δὲ μοῦνα ἐξ αὐτέων λαμβάνειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλῶσαι Λιβύην παντελῶς, αἴτιον τόδε ἔλεγε· τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσω οὐ δυνατὸν ἔτι προβαίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐνίσχεσθαι. Ξέρξης δὲ οὔ οἱ συγγινώσκων λέγειν ἀληθέα, οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντά τε τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, ἀνεσκολόπισε, τὴν ἀρχαίην δίκην ἐπιτιμῶν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὐνοῦχος ἀπέδρη ἐς Σάμον, ἐπεί τε ἐπύθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότεα τετελευτηκότα, ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ἀνὴρ κατέσχε· τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα, ἑκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι.

44 Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη· ὃς βουλόμενος Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, ὃς κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοῖσι ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθηΐην ἐρέειν, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα. οἱ δὲ, ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς γῆς, ἔπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν· διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέρην πλέοντες, τριηκοστῷ μηνὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον, ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοίνικας, τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα, ἀπέστειλε περιπλώειν Λιβύην. μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιπλώσαντας,

Ἰνδούς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος, καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταύτῃ
ἐχρᾶτο. οὕτω καὶ τῆς Ἀσίης, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνί-
σχοντα, τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὁμοῖα παρεχομένη τῇ Λιβύῃ.
Ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερή ἐστι γινωσκο- 45
μένη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς
βορῆν, εἰ περίρρυτός ἐστι· μήκεϊ δὲ γινώσκεται παρ'
ἀμφοτέρας παρήκουσα. Οὐδ' ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ' ὅτευ
μιῇ ἐούσῃ γῇ οὐνόματα τριφασια κέεται, ἐπωνυμίας
ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ οὐρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός τε ὁ Αἰγύ-
πτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη, καὶ Φᾶσις ὁ Κόλχος· (οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν
ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιήτην καὶ Πορθμήϊα τὰ Κιμμέρια λέ-
γουσι·) οὐδὲ τῶν διουρισάντων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι,
καὶ ὅθεν ἔθεντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. ἡ δὴ γὰρ Λιβύη μὲν ἐπὶ
Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχειν τὸ
οὔνομα γυναικὸς αὐτόχθονος· ἡ δὲ Ἀσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμη-
θέος γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμ-
βάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοὶ, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίεω, τοῦ
Κότυος, τοῦ Μάνεω, κεκλῆσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ
τῆς Προμηθέος Ἀσίης· ἀπ' ὅτευ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι
φυλὴν κεκλῆσθαι Ἀσιάδα. Ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ
περίρρυτός ἐστι γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων·
οὔτε ὁκόθεν τὸ οὔνομα ἔλαβε τοῦτο, οὔτε ὅστις οἱ ἦν ὁ
θέμενος φαίνεται· εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίης φήσομεν Εὐρώ-
πης λαβεῖν τὸ οὔνομα τὴν χώρην, πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα
ἀνώνυμος, ὥσπερ αἱ ἕτεραι. ἀλλ' αὕτη γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης
τε φαίνεται ἐοῦσα, καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην
ἥ τις νῦν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρώπη καλέεται, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ
Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην, ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Λυκίην. Ταῦτα
μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τοῖσι γὰρ νομιζομένοισι
αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα.

Ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὔξεινος, ἐπ' ὃν ἐστρατεύετο Δαρεῖος, 46
χωρέων πασέων παρέχεται, ἔξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ, ἔθνεα
ἀμαθέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου
οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι σοφίης πέρι, οὔτε ἄνδρα λό-
γιον οἴδαμεν γενόμενον, πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεος, καὶ
Ἀναχάρσιος. Τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένεϊ ἓν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον
τῶν ἀνθρωπηΐων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρη-
ται, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι. τὸ

δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφι ἀνεύρηται, ὥστε ἀποφυγέειν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθῆναι, καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἷόν τε εἶναι. τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄστεα μήτε τείχεα ᾖ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι ἐόντες, πάντες ἔωσι ἱπποτοξόται, ζώοντες μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματά τέ σφι ᾖ ἐπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ ἂν

47 εἴησαν οὗτοι ἄμαχοί τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν; Ἐξεύρηται δέ σφι ταῦτα, τῆς τε γῆς ἐούσης ἐπιτηδέης, καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐόντων σφι συμμάχων. ἥ τε γὰρ γῆ ἐοῦσα πεδιὰς αὕτη, ποιώδης τε καὶ εὔυδρός ἐστι· ποταμοί τε δι' αὐτῆς ῥέουσι οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διωρύχων. ὅσοι δὲ οὐνομαστοί τέ εἰσι αὐτῶν, καὶ προσπλωτοὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτους οὐνομανέω. Ἴστρος μὲν, πεντάστομος· μετὰ δὲ, Τύρης τε καὶ Ὕπανις, καὶ Βορυσθένης, καὶ Παντικάπης, καὶ Ὑπάκυρις, καὶ Γέρρος, καὶ Τάναϊς. ῥέουσι δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ τάδε.

48 Ἴστρος μὲν, ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἴσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἑωυτῷ ῥέει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος. πρῶτος δὲ τὸ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ῥέων, κατὰ τοιόνδε μέγιστος γέγονε, ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε οἱ μέγαν αὐτὸν ποιεῦντες· διὰ μέν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης πέντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες, τόν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι, Ἕλληνες δὲ Πυρετόν· καὶ ἄλλος, Τιαραντός· καὶ Ἀραρός τε, καὶ Νάπαρις, καὶ Ὀρδησσός. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν, μέγας, καὶ πρὸς ἠῶ ῥέων ἀνακοινοῦται τῷ Ἴστρῳ τὸ ὕδωρ· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθεὶς, Τιαραντὸς, πρὸς ἑσπέρης τε μᾶλλον, καὶ ἐλάσσων. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀραρός τε καὶ ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ ὁ Ὀρδησσὸς, διὰ μέσου τούτων ἰόντες, ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον. οὗτοι μὲν αὐτιγενέες ποταμοὶ Σκυθικοὶ συμ-

49 πληθύουσι αὐτόν. Ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσων Μάρις ποταμὸς ῥέων συμμίσγεται τῷ Ἴστρῳ. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἵμου τῶν κορυφέων τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι, ῥέοντες πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον, ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτὸν, Ἄτλας, καὶ Αὔρας, καὶ Τίβισις· διὰ δὲ Θρηΐκης καὶ Θρηΐκων τῶν Κροβύζων ῥέοντες, Ἄθρυς, καὶ Νόης, καὶ Ἀρτάνης, ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον· ἐκ δὲ Παιόνων καὶ οὔρεος Ῥοδόπης, Σκίος ποταμὸς, μέσον σχίζων τὸν Αἷμον, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν

δὲ ῥέων πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον Ἄγγρος ποταμὸς, ἐσβάλλει
ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τριβαλλικὸν, καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγον· ὁ δὲ
Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον. οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους, ἐόντας μεγά-
λους, ὁ Ἴστρος δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρης
Ὀμβρίκων, Κάρπις ποταμὸς, καὶ ἄλλος Ἄλπις [ποτα-
μὸς,] πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον καὶ οὗτοι ῥέοντες ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς
αὐτόν. ῥέει γὰρ δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἴστρος,
ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἳ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων
μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· ῥέων δὲ διὰ
πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει.
Τούτων ὦν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν συμ- 50
βαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ὕδωρ, γίνεται ὁ Ἴστρος ποτα-
μῶν μέγιστος. ἐπεὶ ὕδωρ γε ἓν πρὸς ἓν συμβάλλειν, ὁ
Νεῖλος πλήθεϊ ἀποκρατέει· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον οὔτε ποτα-
μὸς, οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία ἐσδιδοῦσα, ἐς πλῆθός οἱ συμ-
βάλλεται. ἴσος δὲ αἰεὶ ῥέει ἔν τε θέρεϊ καὶ χειμῶνι ὁ
Ἴστρος, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει. τοῦ μὲν χειμῶ-
νός ἐστι ὅσοσπέρ ἐστι, ὀλίγῳ τε μέζων τῆς ἑωυτοῦ φύ-
σιος γίνεται· ὕεται γὰρ ἡ γῆ αὕτη τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμπαν
ὀλίγῳ, νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χρέεται· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἡ χιὼν ἡ
ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πεσοῦσα, ἐοῦσα ἀμφιλαφὴς, τηκομένη
πάντοθεν ἐσδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον· αὕτη τε δὴ ἡ χιὼν ἐσδι-
δοῦσα ἐς αὐτὸν, συμπληθύει, καὶ ὄμβροι πολλοί τε καὶ
λάβροι σὺν αὐτῇ· ὕει γὰρ δὴ τὸ θέρος. ὅσῳ δὲ πλέον
ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν ὕδωρ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπέλκεται ἐν τῷ θέρεϊ ἢ ἐν τῷ
χειμῶνι, τοσούτῳ τὰ συμμισγόμενα τῷ Ἴστρῳ πολλα-
πλάσιά ἐστι τοῦ θέρεος ἤπερ τοῦ χειμῶνος· ἀντιτιθέμενα
δὲ ταῦτα, ἀντισήκωσις γίνεται, ὥστε ἴσον μιν αἰεὶ φαίνε-
σθαι ἐόντα.

Εἷς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖσι Σκύθῃσί ἐστι ὁ 51
Ἴστρος· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, Τύρης· ὃς ἀπὸ βορέω μὲν ἀνέ-
μου ὁρμᾶται, ἄρχεται δὲ ῥέων ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης, ἣ
οὐρίζει τήν τε Σκυθικὴν καὶ τὴν Νευρίδα γῆν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ
στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοίκηνται Ἕλληνες, οἳ Τυρῖται καλέον-
ται. Τρίτος δὲ Ὕπανις ποταμὸς ὁρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ τῆς 52
Σκυθικῆς, ῥέει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης, τὴν πέριξ νέμονται
ἵπποι ἄγριοι λευκοί. καλέεται δ' ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὀρθῶς,
μήτηρ Ὑπάνιος. ἐκ ταύτης ὦν ἀνατέλλων ὁ Ὕπανις

ποταμὸς, ῥέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερέων πλόον βραχὺς, καὶ γλυκὺς ἔτι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου, πρὸς θαλάσσης τεσσέρων ἡμερέων πλόον, πικρὸς αἰνῶς. ἐκδιδοῖ γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρήνη πικρὴ, οὕτω δή τι ἐοῦσα πικρὴ, ἣ μεγάθεϊ σμικρὴ ἐοῦσα, κιρνᾷ τὸν Ὕπανιν, ἐόντα ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοισι μέγαν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὕτη ἐν οὔροισι χώρης τῆς τε ἀροτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ Ἀλαζώνων· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ, καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ, Σκυθιστὶ μὲν, Ἐξαμπαῖος· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, Ἱραὶ ὁδοί. συνάγουσι δὲ τὰ τέρματα ὅ τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ Ὕπανις κατὰ Ἀλάζωνας· τὸ δε ἀπὸ τούτου, ἀποστρέψας ἑκάτερος ῥέει εὐρύνων τὸ μέσον.

53 Τέταρτος δὲ, Βορυσθένης ποταμός· ὅς ἐστι μέγιστός τε μετὰ Ἴστρον τούτων, καὶ πολυαρκέστατος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, οὔτι μοῦνον τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἷά τε ἐστι συμβαλέειν ἄλλον ποταμὸν, τῶν δε λοιπῶν Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ πολυαρκέστατος. ὃς νομάς τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομιδεστάτας κτήνεσι παρέχεται, ἰχθύας τε ἀρίστους διακριδὸν καὶ πλείστους· πίνεσθαί τε ἥδιστός ἐστι· ῥέει τε καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι. σπόρος τε παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄριστος γίνεται· ποίη τε, τῇ οὐ σπείρεται ἡ χώρη, βαθυτάτη· ἅλες τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πήγνυνται ἄπλετοι· κήτεά τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευσιν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θωυμάσαι ἄξια. Μέχρι μέν νυν Γέρρου χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσεράκοντα ἡμερέων πλόος ἐστὶ, γινώσκεται ῥέων ἀπὸ βορέω ἀνέμου· τὸ δὲ κατύπερθε δι᾽ ὧν ῥέει ἀνθρώπων, οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι. φαίνεται δὲ ῥέων δι᾽ ἐρήμου ἐς τῶν γεωργῶν Σκυθέων τὴν χώρην· οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ Σκύθαι παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμερέων πλόον νέμονται. μούνου δὲ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νείλου οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγάς· δοκέω δὲ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς Ἑλλήνων. Ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ῥέων γίνεται, καί οἱ συμμίσγεται ὁ Ὕπανις, ἐς τὠυτὸ ἕλος ἐκδιδούς. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων ἐὸν ἔμβολον τῆς χώρης, Ἱππόλεω ἄκρη καλέεται· ἐν δὲ, τὸ ἱρὸν Δήμητρος ἐνίδρυται· πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι Βορυ-

σθενεῖται κατοίκηνται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτους πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος, τῷ οὔνομα 54 Παντικάπης. ῥέει δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ βορέω τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην· παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταύτην, τῷ Βορυσθένεϊ συμμίσγεται. Ἕκτος δὲ Ὑπάκυρις ποταμός· ὃς ὁρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, 55 διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ῥέων, ἐκδιδοῖ κατὰ Καρκινῖτιν πόλιν, ἐς δεξιὴν ἀπέργων τήν τε Ὑλαίην καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον καλεόμενον Δρόμον. Ἕβδομος δὲ Γέρρος 56 ποταμὸς ἀπέσχισται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρης ἐς ὃ γινώσκεται ὁ Βορυσθένης· ἀπέσχισται μέν νυν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου, οὔνομα δὲ ἔχει τόπερ ὁ χῶρος αὐτὸς, Γέρρος. ῥέων δ' ἐς θάλασσαν, οὐρίζει τήν τε τῶν Νομάδων χώρην, καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιληΐων Σκυθέων· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὑπάκυριν. Ὄγδοος 57 δὲ δὴ Τάναϊς ποταμός· ὃς ῥέει τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὁρμεώμενος, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς μέζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν, ἣ οὐρίζει Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιληΐους καὶ Σαυρομάτας. ἐς δὲ Τάναϊν τοῦτον ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει, τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Ὕργις. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ οὐνο- 58 μαστοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὕτω δή τι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐσκευάδαται. Τοῖσι δὲ κτήνεσι ἡ ποίη ἀναφυομένη ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, ἔστι ἐπιχολωτάτη πασέων ποιέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀνοιγομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι κτήνεσί ἐστι σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφι εὔπορά ἐστι. τὰ δὲ 59 λοιπὰ νόμαια κατὰ τάδε σφι διακέεται. Θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε ἱλάσκονται· Ἱστίην μὲν μάλιστα· ἐπὶ δὲ, Δία τε καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναῖκα· μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην, καὶ Ἡρακλέα, καὶ Ἄρεα. τούτους μὲν πάντες οἱ Σκύθαι νενομίκασι· οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλήϊοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι. οὐνομάζεται δὲ Σκυθιστὶ, Ἱστίη μὲν, Ταβιτί· Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα, κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν, καλεόμενος Παπαῖος· Γῆ δὲ, Ἀπία· Ἀπόλλων δὲ, Οἰτόσυρος· οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτη, Ἀρτίμ-

*πασα· Ποσειδέων δὲ, Θαμιμασάδας. ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ
βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιέειν, πλὴν Ἄρηϊ·
60 τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι. Θυσίη δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατέστηκε
περὶ πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ ὁμοίως, ἐρδομένη ὧδε. τὸ μὲν ἱρήϊον
αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας ἕστηκε.
ὁ δὲ θύων, ὄπισθε τοῦ κτήνεος ἑστεὼς, σπάσας τὴν
ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου, καταβάλλει μιν· πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ
ἱρηΐου, ἐπικαλέει τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἂν θύῃ· καὶ ἔπειτα βρόχῳ
περὶ ὦν ἔβαλε τὸν αὐχένα, σκυταλίδα δὲ ἐμβαλὼν περι-
άγει, καὶ ἀποπνίγει· οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαύσας, οὔτε καταρξά-
μενος, οὔτ᾽ ἐπισπείσας· ἀποπνίξας δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρας,
61 τράπεται πρὸς ἕψησιν. Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰνῶς
ἀξύλου ἐούσης, ὧδέ σφι ἐς τὴν ἕψησιν τῶν κρεῶν ἐξεύ-
ρηται. ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὰ ἱρήϊα, γυμνοῦσι τὰ ὀστέα
τῶν κρεῶν· ἔπειτα ἐσβάλλουσι, ἢν μὲν τύχωσι ἔχοντες
λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Λεσβίοισι κρητῆρσι προσ-
εικέλους, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι πολλῷ μέζονας· ἐς τούτους ἐσβάλ-
λοντες, ἕψουσι ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστέα τῶν ἱρηΐων. ἢν δὲ
μή σφι παρῇ λέβης, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἱρηΐων
ἐσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα, καὶ παραμίξαντες ὕδωρ,
ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα. τὰ δὲ αἴθεται κάλλιστα· αἱ δὲ
γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα ἐψιλωμένα τῶν
ὀστέων. καὶ οὕτω βοῦς τε ἑωυτὸν ἐξέψει, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
ἱρήϊα ἑωυτὸ ἕκαστον. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἑψηθῇ τὰ κρέα, ὁ
θύσας, τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀπαρξάμενος,
ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρό-
βατα, καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα.*

62 *Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἄλλοισι τῶν θεῶν οὕτω θύουσι, καὶ
ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων. τῷ δὲ δὴ Ἄρηϊ ὧδε. Κατὰ νομοὺς
ἑκάστοισι τῶν ἀρχηΐων ἐσίδρυταί σφι Ἄρηος ἱρὸν τοι-
όνδε. φρυγάνων φάκελοι συννενέαται ὅσον τ᾽ ἐπὶ στα-
δίους τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ ἔλασσον· ἄνω δὲ
τούτου, τετράγωνον ἄπεδον πεποίηται· καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία
τῶν κώλων ἐστὶ ἀπότομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἓν, ἐπιβατόν.
ἔτεος δὲ ἑκάστου ἁμάξας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπινέ-
ουσι φρυγάνων· ὑπονοστέει γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώ-
νων. Ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ ὄγκου ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἵδρυ-
ται ἀρχαῖος ἑκάστοισι, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι τοῦ Ἄρηος τὸ*

ἄγαλμα· τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκεϊ θυσίας ἐπετείους προσ-
άγουσι προβάτων καὶ ἵππων. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσδ' ἔτι
πλέω θύουσι ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι. Ὅσους δ' ἂν τῶν
πολεμίων ζωγρήσωσι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἄνδρα ἕνα
θύουσι, τρόπῳ οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ, ᾧ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἑτε-
ροίῳ. ἐπεὰν γὰρ οἶνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατὰ τῶν κεφαλέων,
ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς ἄγγος· καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνε-
νείκαντες ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῶν φρυγάνων, καταχέουσι
τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀκινάκεος. ἄνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι τοῦτο·
κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱρὸν ποιεῦσι τάδε. τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων
ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὤμους πάντας ἀποτάμνοντες σὺν
τῇσι χερσὶ, ἐς τὸν ἠέρα ἱεῖσι· καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
ἀπέρξαντες ἱρήϊα ἀπαλλάσσονται· χεὶρ δὲ, τῇ ἂν πέσῃ,
κέεται, καὶ χωρὶς ὁ νεκρός. Θυσίαι μέν νυν αὗταί σφι 63
κατεστέασι. ὑσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι, οὐδὲ τρέφειν
ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν θέλουσι.

Τὰ δ' ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ὧδέ σφι διακέεται. Ἐπεὰν 64
τὸν πρῶτον ἄνδρα καταβάλῃ ἀνὴρ Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος
ἐμπίνει. ὅσους δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς
κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ βασιλέϊ· ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κε-
φαλὴν, τῆς ληΐης μεταλαμβάνει τὴν ἂν λάβωσι· μὴ
ἐνείκας δὲ, οὔ. ἀποδείρει δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. περι-
ταμὼν κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὦτα, καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς
ἐκσείει· μετὰ δὲ, σαρκίσας βοὸς πλευρῇ, δέψει τῇσι
χερσί· ὀργήσας δὲ αὐτὸ, ἅτε χειρόμακτρον ἔκτηται· ἐκ
δὲ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν αὐτὸς ἐλαύνει, ἐκ τούτου
ἐξάπτει, καὶ ἀγάλλεται. ὃς γὰρ ἂν πλεῖστα δέρματα
χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος οὗτος κέκριται. πολλοὶ
δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδερμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι
ποιεῦσι, συρράπτοντες κατάπερ βαίτας. πολλοὶ δὲ ἀν-
δρῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς δεξιὰς χέρας, νεκρῶν ἐόντων, ἀποδεί-
ραντες αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι, καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρέων ποιεῦν-
ται. δέρμα δὲ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ παχὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν, ἦν ἄρα
σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρότατον λευκότητι. πολ-
λοὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλους ἄνδρας ἐκδείραντες, καὶ διατείναντες ἐπὶ
ξύλων, ἐπ' ἵππων περιφέρουσι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω σφι
νενόμισται. Αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς, οὔ τι πάντων, ἀλλὰ 65
τῶν ἐχθίστων, ποιεῦσι τάδε. ἀποπρίσας ἕκαστος πᾶν

τὸ ἔνερθε τῶν ὀφρύων, ἐκκαθαίρει· καὶ ἢν μὲν ᾖ πένης, ὁ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὠμοβοέην μούνην περιτείνας, οὕτω χρᾶται· ἢν δὲ ᾖ πλούσιος, τὴν μὲν ὠμοβοέην περιτείνει, ἔσωθεν δὲ περιχρυσώσας, οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίῳ. ποιεῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκηΐων, ἤν σφι διάφοροι γένωνται, καὶ ἢν ἐπικρατήσῃ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλέϊ. ξείνων δέ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἂν λόγον ποιέηται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει, καὶ ἐπιλέγει, ὥς οἱ ἐόντες οἰκήϊοι πόλεμον προσεθήκαντο, καί σφεων αὐτὸς ἐπεκράτησε, ταύτην ἀν-
66 δραγαθίην λέγοντες. Ἅπαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστου ὁ νομάρχης, ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἑωυτοῦ νομῷ, κιρνᾷ κρητῆρα οἴνου, ἀπ' οὗ πίνουσι τῶν Σκυθέων ὅσοις ἂν ἄνδρες πολέμιοι ἀραιρημένοι ἔωσι. τοῖσι δ' ἂν μὴ κατεργασμένον ᾖ τοῦτο, οὐ γεύονται τοῦ οἴνου τούτου, ἀλλ' ἠτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται· ὄνειδος δέ σφί ἐστι μέγιστον τοῦτο. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναιρηκότες ἔωσι, οὗτοι δὲ σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες, πίνουσι ὁμοῦ.
67 Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθέων εἰσὶ πολλοί, οἳ μαντεύονται ῥάβδοισι ἰτεΐνῃσι πολλῇσι ὧδε. ἐπεὰν φακέλους ῥάβδων μεγάλους ἐνείκωνται, θέντες χαμαί, διεξελίσσουσι αὐτούς· καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἑκάστην ῥάβδον τιθέντες, θεσπίζουσι· ἅμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα, συνειλέουσι τὰς ῥάβδους ὀπίσω, καὶ αὖτις κατὰ μίαν συντιθεῖσι. αὕτη μέν σφι ἡ μαντικὴ πατρωΐη ἐστί. Οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεες, οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σφι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι. φιλύρης ὦν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται. ἐπεὰν τὴν φιλύρην τρίχα σχίσῃ, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δακτύλοισι τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, καὶ δια-
68 λύων, χρᾷ. Ἐπεὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων κάμῃ, μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντίων ἄνδρας τρεῖς τοὺς εὐδοκιμέοντας μάλιστα, οἳ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ μαντεύονται· καὶ λέγουσι οὗτοι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιληΐας ἱστίας ἐπιόρκηκε ὃς καὶ ὅς, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἂν δὴ λέγωσι. τὰς δὲ βασιληΐας ἱστίας νόμος Σκύθῃσι τὰ μάλιστά ἐστι ὀμνύναι τότε, ἐπεὰν τὸν μέγιστον ὅρκον ἐθέλωσι ὀμνύναι. αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμμένος ἄγεται οὗτος τὸν ἂν δὴ φῶσι ἐπιορκῆσαι· ἀπιγμένον δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντιες, ὡς ἐπιορκήσας φαίνεται ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ τὰς βασιληΐας ἱστίας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγέει ὁ βασιλεύς· ὁ δὲ

ἀρνέεται, οὔ φάμενος ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ δεινολογέεται.
ἀρνεομένου δὲ τούτου, ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπεται ἄλλους
διπλησίους μάντιας. καὶ ἢν μέν μιν καὶ οὗτοι, ἐσορέ-
οντες ἐς τὴν μαντικὴν, καταδήσωσι ἐπιορκῆσαι, τοῦ δὲ
ἰθέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ
διαλαγχάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν μαντίων· ἢν δὲ οἱ ἐπελ-
θόντες μάντιες ἀπολύσωσι, ἄλλοι πάρεισι μάντιες, καὶ
μάλα ἄλλοι. ἢν ὦν οἱ πλεῦνες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολύ-
σωσι, δέδοκται τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν μαντίων αὐτοῖσι
ἀπόλλυσθαι. Ἀπολλῦσι δῆτα αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· 69
ἐπεὰν ἅμαξαν φρυγάνων πλήσωσι, καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι βοῦς,
ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας, καὶ χέρας ὀπίσω δήσαντες,
καὶ στομώσαντες, κατειργνῦσι ἐς μέσα τὰ φρύγανα· ὑπο-
πρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ, ἀπιεῖσι φοβήσαντες τοὺς βοῦς.
πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατακαίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βόες,
πολλοὶ δὲ περικεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ
ῥυμὸς κατακαυθῇ. κατακαίουσι δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ
καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας καλέ-
οντες. τοὺς δ' ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ βασιλεὺς, τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς
παῖδας λείπει, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ ἔρσενα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ
θήλεα οὐκ ἀδικέει.
Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὧδε, πρὸς τοὺς ἂν ποιέ- 70
ωνται. ἐς κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμίνην οἶνον ἐγχέαντες,
αἷμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὰ ὅρκια ταμνομένων, τύψαντες
ὀπέατι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρῃ σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος· καὶ
ἔπειτα ἀποβάψαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκεα, καὶ ὀϊστοὺς,
καὶ σάγαριν, καὶ ἀκόντιον. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι,
κατεύχονται πολλὰ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοί τε οἱ
τὸ ὅρκιον ποιευμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων οἱ πλείστου
ἄξιοι.
Ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ, ἐς ὃ ὁ Βο- 71
ρυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός. ἐνθαῦτα, ἐπεάν σφι ἀπο-
θάνῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὄρυγμα γῆς μέγα ὀρύσσουσι τετράγω-
νον. ἑτοῖμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες, ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸν
νεκρὸν, κατακεκηρωμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ νηδὺν ἀνα-
σχισθεῖσαν, καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν, πλέην κυπέρου κεκομμένου
καὶ θυμιήματος καὶ σελίνου σπέρματος καὶ ἀννήσου, συν-
ερραμμένην ὀπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν ἁμάξῃ ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος.

οἱ δ' ἂν παραδέξωνται κομισθέντα τὸν νεκρὸν, ποιεῦσι τά περ οἱ βασιλήϊοι Σκύθαι· τοῦ ὠτὸς ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικείρονται, βραχίονας περιτάμνονται, μέτωπον καὶ ῥῖνα καταμύσσονται, διὰ τῆς τε ἀριστερῆς χερὸς ὀϊστοὺς διαβυνέονται. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κομίζουσι ἐν ἁμάξῃ τὸν νέκυν τοῦ βασιλέος ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχουσι· οἱ δέ σφι ἕπονται, ἐς τοὺς πρότερον ἦλθον. ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νέκυν κομίζοντες, ἐν Γέρροισι ἔσχατα κατοικημένοισί εἰσι τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄρχουσι, καὶ ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι. καὶ ἔπειτα, ἐπεὰν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῇσι θήκῃσι ἐπὶ στιβάδος, παραπήξαντες αἰχμὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ νεκροῦ, ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα ῥιψὶ καταστεγάζουσι. ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης, τῶν παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον, καὶ μάγειρον, καὶ ἱπποκόμον, καὶ διήκονον, καὶ ἀγγεληφόρον, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀπαρχὰς, καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας· ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἁμιλλεώμενοι καὶ προθυμεύμενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι.

72 *Ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ περιφερομένου, αὖτις ποιεῦσι τοιόνδε. λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεωτάτους· (οἱ δέ εἰσι Σκύθαι ἐγγενέες· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσῃ, ἀργυρώνητοι δὲ οὔκ εἰσί σφι θεράποντες·) τούτων ὦν τῶν διηκόνων ἐπεὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἵππους τοὺς καλλιστεύοντας πεντήκοντα, ἐξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην, καὶ καθήραντες, ἐμπιπλᾶσι ἀχύρων, καὶ συρράπτουσι· ἁψῖδος δὲ ἥμισυ ἐπὶ δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ὕπτιον, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἥμισυ τῆς ἁψῖδος ἐπ' ἕτερα δύο, καταπήξαντες τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ πολλὰ ταῦτα· ἔπειτα τῶν ἵππων κατὰ τὰ μήκεα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων, ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἁψῖδας· τῶν δὲ, αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἁψῖδες ὑπέχουσι τοὺς ὤμους τῶν ἵππων· αἱ δὲ ὄπισθε παρὰ τοὺς μηροὺς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι· σκέλεα δὲ ἀμφότερα κατακρέμαται μετέωρα· χαλινοὺς δὲ καὶ στόμια ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους, κατατείνουσι ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκ πασσάλων δέουσι. τῶν δὲ δὴ νεηνίσκων τῶν ἀποπεπνιγμένων τῶν πεντήκοντα ἕνα ἕκαστον*

ἀναβιβάζουσι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὧδε ἀναβιβάζοντες· ἐπεὰν νεκροῦ ἑκάστου παρὰ τὴν ἄκανθαν ξύλον ὀρθὸν διελάσωσι μέχρι τοῦ τραχήλου, κάτωθεν δὲ ὑπερέχει τοῦ ξύλου τούτου τὸ ἐς τόρμον πηγνύουσι τοῦ ἑτέρου ξύλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵππου. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ κύκλῳ τὸ σῆμα ἱππέας τοιούτους, ἀπελαύνουσι.

Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλῆας θάπτουσι. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους 73
Σκύθας, ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ ἀγχοτάτω προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἁμάξῃσι κειμένους· τῶν δὲ ἕκαστος ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχέει τοὺς ἑπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ πάντων παρατιθεῖ τῶν καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι. ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὕτω οἱ ἰδιῶται περιάγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται. Θάψαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι, καθαίρονται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. σμησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι, ποιεῦσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε· ἐπεὰν ξύλα στήσωσι τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πίλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσι· συμφράξαντες δὲ ὡς μάλιστα, λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ
τῶν ξύλων τε καὶ τῶν πίλων. Ἔστι δέ σφι κάνναβις 74
φυομένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ πλὴν παχύτητος καὶ μεγάθεος τῷ λίνῳ ἐμφερεστάτη· ταύτῃ δὲ πολλῷ ὑπερφέρει ἡ κάνναβις. αὕτη καὶ αὐτομάτη καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Θρήϊκες μὲν καὶ εἵματα ποιεῦνται τοῖσι λινέοισι ὁμοιότατα· οὐδ' ἄν, ὅστις μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἴη αὐτῆς, διαγνοίη, λίνου ἢ καννάβιός ἐστι· ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδέ κω τὴν
κανναβίδα, λίνεον δοκήσει εἶναι τὸ εἷμα· Ταύτης ὦν οἱ 75
Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ σπέρμα ἐπεὰν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι ὑπὸ τοὺς πίλους, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ τοὺς διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρί· τὸ δὲ θυμιῆται ἐπιβαλλόμενον, καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην, ὥστε Ἑλληνικὴ οὐδεμία ἄν μιν πυρίη ἀποκρατήσειε· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι, ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρίῃ, ὠρύονται. τοῦτό σφι ἀντὶ λουτροῦ ἐστί· οὐ γὰρ δὴ λοῦνται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ὕδωρ παραχέουσαι, κατασώχουσι περὶ λίθον τρηχὺν τῆς κυπαρίσσου, καὶ κέδρου, καὶ λιβάνου ξύλον· καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ κατασωχόμενον τοῦτο, παχὺ ἐὸν, καταπλάσσονται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον. καὶ ἅμα μὲν εὐωδίη σφέας ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσχει, ἅμα

δὲ ἀπαιρέουσαι τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν καταπλαστὺν, γίνονται καθαραὶ καὶ λαμπραί.

76 Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι φεύγουσι, μήτι γε ὧν ἄλλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα. ὡς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσίς τε, καὶ δεύτερα αὖτις Σκύλης. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἐπεί τε γῆν πολλὴν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλὴν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ἤθεα τὰ Σκυθέων, πλέων δι' Ἑλλησπόντου, προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον, καὶ, εὗρε γὰρ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ὁρτὴν κάρτα μεγαλοπρεπέως, εὔξατο τῇ Μητρὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἢν σῶς καὶ ὑγιὴς ἀπονοστήσῃ ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταὐτὰ κατὰ τὰ ὥρα τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ποιεῦντας, καὶ παννυχίδα στήσειν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, καταδὺς ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ὑλαίην· (ἡ δ' ἔστι μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον Δρόμον, τυγχάνει δὲ πᾶσα ἐοῦσα δενδρέων παντοίων πλέη·) ἐς ταύτην δὴ καταδὺς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, τὴν ὁρτὴν πᾶσαν ἐπετέλεε τῇ θεῷ, τύμπανόν τε ἔχων, καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα. καὶ τῶν τις Σκυθέων καταφρασθεὶς αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, ἐσήμηνε τῷ βασιλέϊ Σαυλίῳ· ὁ δὲ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος, ὡς εἶδε τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. Καὶ νῦν, ἤν τις εἴρηται περὶ Ἀναχάρσιος, οὔ φασί μιν Σκύθαι γινώσκειν, διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησέ τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ξεινικοῖσι ἔθεσι διεχρήσατο. Ὡς δ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα Τίμνεω, τοῦ Ἀριαπείθεος ἐπιτρόπου, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρσου τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος πάτρων, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Γνούρου, τοῦ Λύκου, τοῦ Σπαργαπείθεος. εἰ ὧν ταύτης ἦν τῆς οἰκίης ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἴστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανών. Ἰδάνθυρσος γὰρ ἦν παῖς Σαυλίου· Σαύ-
77 λιος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀνάχαρσιν. Καίτοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος Ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μαθητὴς γένοιτο· ὀπίσω τε ἀπονοστήσας, φαίη πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα, Ἕλληνας πάντας ἀσχόλους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην, πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων· τούτοισι δὲ εἶναι μούνοισι σωφρόνως δοῦναί τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. Ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπαισται ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δ' ὧν ἀνὴρ, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰρέθη, διεφθάρη. Οὗτος

*μέν νυν οὕτω δή τι ἔπρηξε διὰ ξεινικά τε νόμαια καὶ Ἑλ-
ληνικὰς ὁμιλίας.*

Πολλοῖσι δὲ *κάρτα ἔτεσι ὕστερον* Σκύλης, *ὁ* Ἀρια- 78
πείθεος, ἔπαθε παραπλήσια τούτῳ. Ἀριαπείθεϊ *γὰρ τῷ*
Σκυθέων *βασιλέϊ γίνεται μετ' ἄλλων παίδων* Σκύλης· *ἐξ*
Ἰστριηνῆς *δὲ γυναικὸς οὗτος γίνεται, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγχω-
ρίης· τὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὕτη γλῶσσάν τε* Ἑλλάδα *καὶ γράμ-
ματα ἐδίδαξε. μετὰ δὲ, χρόνῳ ὕστερον,* Ἀριαπείθης *μὲν
τελευτᾷ δόλῳ ὑπὸ* Σπαργαπείθεος *τοῦ* Ἀγαθύρσων *βασι-
λέος·* Σκύλης *δὲ τήν τε βασιληΐην παρέλαβε, καὶ τὴν
γυναῖκα τοῦ πατρὸς, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν* Ὀποίη. *ἦν δὲ αὕτη
ἡ* Ὀποίη *ἀστὴ, ἐξ ἧς ἦν* Ὄρικος Ἀριαπείθεϊ *παῖς. βα-
σιλεύων δὲ* Σκυθέων *ὁ* Σκύλης, *διαίτῃ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἠρέ-
σκετο* Σκυθικῇ, *ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ* Ἑλληνικὰ *μᾶλλον
τετραμμένος ἦν ἀπὸ παιδεύσιος τῆς ἐπεπαίδευτο. ἐποίεέ
τε τοιοῦτο· εὖτε ἀγάγοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν* Σκυθέων *ἐς τὸ*
Βορυσθενεϊτέων *ἄστυ, (οἱ δὲ* Βορυσθενεΐται *οὗτοι λέγουσι
σφέας αὐτοὺς εἶναι* Μιλησίους,) *ἐς τούτους ὅκως ἔλθοι
ὁ* Σκύλης, *τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν καταλείπεσκε ἐν τῷ προα-
στείῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅκως ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὰς πύλας
ἐγκληΐσειε, τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν* Σκυθικὴν, *λά-
βεσκε ἂν* Ἑλληνίδα *ἐσθῆτα· ἔχων δ' ἂν ταύτην, ἠγόραζε,
οὔτε δορυφόρων ἑπομένων, οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενός· (τὰς δὲ
πύλας ἐφύλασσον, μή τίς μιν* Σκυθέων *ἴδοι ἔχοντα ταύ-
την τὴν στολήν·) καὶ τἄλλα ἐχρᾶτο διαίτῃ* Ἑλληνικῇ,
καὶ θεοῖσι ἱρὰ ἐποίεε κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Ἑλλήνων. *ὅτε δὲ
διατρίψειε μῆνα ἢ πλέον τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο, ἐνδὺς τὴν*
Σκυθικὴν *στολήν. ταῦτα ποιέεσκε πολλάκις· καὶ οἰκία
τε ἐδείματο ἐν* Βορυσθένεϊ, *καὶ γυναῖκα ἔγημε ἐς αὐτὰ
ἐπιχωρίην.* Ἐπεί *τε δὲ ἔδεέ οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο* 79
ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοιῆσδε. ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσῳ Βακχείῳ
*τελεσθῆναι· μέλλοντι δέ οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὴν τελε-
τὴν, ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον. ἦν οἱ ἐν* Βορυσθενεϊτέων
*τῇ πόλι οἰκίης μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελέος περιβολὴ, (τῆς
καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον,) τὴν πέριξ
λευκοῦ λίθου σφίγγες τε καὶ γρύπες ἕστασαν· ἐς ταύτην
ὁ θεὸς ἐνέσκηψε βέλος· καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκάη πᾶσα.* Σκύ-
λης *δὲ οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα ἧσσον ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελετήν.*

Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν πέρι Ἕλλησι ὀνειδίζουσι· οὐ γάρ φασι οἰκὸς εἶναι θεὸν ἐξευρίσκειν τοῦτον ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους. Ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐτελέσθη τῷ Βακχείῳ ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρήστευσε τῶν τις Βορυσθενεϊτέων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας, λέγων· "Ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγελᾶτε, ὦ "Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν "οὗτος ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα λελάβηκε, "καὶ βακχεύει, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ δέ μοι "ἀπιστέετε, ἕπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δείξω." Εἵποντο τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ προεστεῶτες· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγαγὼν ὁ Βορυσθενεΐτης, λάθρῃ ἐπὶ πύργον κατεῖσε. ἐπεί τε δὲ παρήϊε σὺν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ Σκύλης, καὶ εἶδόν μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο·
80 *ἐξελθόντες δὲ, ἐσήμαινον πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ ἴδοιεν. Ὡς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήλαυνε ὁ Σκύλης ἐς ἤθεα τὰ ἑωυτοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Ὀκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Τήρεω θυγατρὸς, ἐπανιστέατο τῷ Σκύλῃ. ὁ δὲ, μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐπ' ἑωυτῷ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίην δι' ἣν ἐποιέετο, καταφεύγει ἐς τὴν Θρηΐκην. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ὀκταμασάδης ταῦτα, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Θρηΐκην· ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἴστρῳ ἐγένετο, ἠντίασάν μιν οἱ Θρήϊκες. μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάψειν, ἔπεμψε Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν Ὀκταμασάδην, λέγων τοιάδε· "Τί δεῖ "ἡμέας ἀλλήλων πειρηθῆναι; εἶς μέν μευ τῆς ἀδελφεῆς "παῖς, ἔχεις δέ μευ ἀδελφεόν. σύ τ' ἐμοὶ ἀπόδος τοῦτον, "καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὸν σὸν Σκύλην παραδίδωμι· στρατιῇ δὲ "μήτε σὺ κινδυνεύσῃς, μήτ' ἐγώ." Ταῦτά οἱ πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο· ἦν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὀκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκεω, πεφευγὼς τοῦτον. ὁ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα· ἐκδιδοὺς δὲ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μήτρωα Σιτάλκῃ, ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σκύλην. καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν, ἀπήγετο· Σκύλεω δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλήν. Οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερα νόμαια Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοισι ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα ἐπιτίμια διδοῦσι.*

81 *Πλῆθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἤκουον· καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναί σφεας, καὶ ὀλίγους,*

ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι. τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς ὄψιν. Ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυσθένεός τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑπάνιος χῶρος, οὔνομα δέ οἵ ἐστι Ἐξαμπαῖος· τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνην ὕδατος πικροῦ εἶναι, ἀπ' ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ὕπανιν ἄποτον ποιέειν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήϊον, μεγάθεϊ καὶ ἑξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητῆρος, τὸν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε. ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδέ κω τοῦτον, ὧδε δηλώσω· ἑξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως χωρέει τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήϊον. πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήϊόν ἐστι δακτύλων ἕξ. τοῦτο ὦν ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι· βουλόμενον γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Ἀριαντὰν, τοῦτον εἰδέναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Σκυθέων, κελεύειν μιν πάντας Σκύθας ἄρδιν ἕκαστον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀϊστοῦ κομίσαι· ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ κομίσῃ, θάνατον ἀπείλεε. κομισθῆναί τε δὴ χρῆμα πολλὸν ἀρδίων, καί οἱ δόξαι ἐξ αὐτέων μνημόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι· ἐκ τουτέων δή μιν τὸ χαλκήϊον ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἐξαμπαῖον τοῦτον. ταῦτα δὴ περὶ τοῦ πλήθεος τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουον. Θωυ- 82
μάσια δὲ ἡ χώρη αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι ποταμούς τε πολλῷ μεγίστους, καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστους. ὃ δὲ ἀποθωυμάσαι ἄξιον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάθεος τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρήσεται· ἴχνος Ἡρακλέος φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρῃ ἐνεὸν, τὸ οἶκε μὲν βήματι ἀνδρὸς, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμόν. Τοῦτο μέν νυν τοιοῦτό ἐστι. ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἤϊα λέξων λόγον.

Παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας, καὶ ἐπι- 83
πέμποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάξοντας τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν, τοῖσι δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ ζευγνύναι τὸν Θρηΐκιον Βόσπορον· Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, ἀδελφεὸς ἐὼν Δαρείου, ἐχρῆζε μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν στρατηΐην ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιέεσθαι, καταλέγων τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην. ἀλλ', οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε συμβουλεύων οἱ χρηστὰ, ὁ μὲν ἐπέπαυτο· ὁ δὲ, ἐπειδή οἱ τὰ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο, ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων. Ἐνθαῦτα τῶν Περσέων Οἰόβαζος 84
ἐδεήθη Δαρείου, τριῶν ἐόντων οἱ παίδων, καὶ πάντων

στρατευομένων, ἕνα αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆναι. ὁ δέ οἱ ἔφη, ὡς φίλῳ ἐόντι καὶ μετρίων δεομένῳ, πάντας τοὺς παῖδας καταλείψειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος περιχαρὴς ἦν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς υἱέας στρατηΐης ἀπολελύσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπεστεῶτας ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας τοὺς Οἰοβάζου παῖδας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες, αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐλίποντο.

85 Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεί τε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπίκετο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον, ἵνα ἔζευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα, ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλευμένας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἕλληνές φασι εἶναι. ἑζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἱρῷ, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον. πελαγέων γὰρ ἁπάντων πέφυκε θωυμασιώτατος· τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοί εἰσι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. τούτου τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὖρος τέσσερες στάδιοι· μῆκος δὲ τοῦ στόματος, ὁ αὐχὴν, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' ὃ δὴ ἔζευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν ἐστι. τείνει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος. Ἡ δὲ Προποντὶς, ἐοῦσα εὖρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἐόντα στεινότητι μὲν ἑπτὰ σταδίους, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίους. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος,
86 τὸ δὴ Αἰγαῖον καλέεται. Μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὧδε. νηῦς ἐπίπαν μάλιστά κῃ κατανύει ἐν μακρημερίῃ ὀργυιὰς ἑπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ, ἑξακισμυρίας. ἤδη ὦν ἐς μὲν Φᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος, (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον,) ἡμερέων ἐννέα πλόος ἐστὶ, καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτώ· αὗται ἕνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων γίνονται· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυιέων τουτέων, στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοί εἰσι. ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς, (κατὰ τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον,) τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόος· αὗται δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὀργυιέων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. Ὁ μέν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορός τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρέαται, καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι. Παρέχε-

ται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος, ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἐς ἑωυτὸν, οὐ πολλῷ τέῳ ἐλάσσω ἑωυτοῦ· ἣ Μαιῆτίς τε καλέεται, καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

Ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἐθηήσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω 87
ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλέης Σάμιος. θηησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον, στήλας ἔστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτῷ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμὼν γράμματα, ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὰ, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσαπερ ἦγε· ἦγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἦρχε. τούτων μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἑβδομήκοντα σὺν ἱππεῦσι· νέες δὲ ἑξακόσιαι συνελέχθησαν. Τῇσι μέν νυν στήλῃσι ταύτῃσι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ὀρθωσίης Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἑνὸς λίθου· οὗτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. Τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χῶρος τὸν ἔζευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν συμβαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἱροῦ.

Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἡσθεὶς τῇ σχεδίῃ, τὸν ἀρχι- 88
τέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα. ἀπ' ὧν δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχὴν, ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεῦξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίῃ κατήμενον, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα, ταῦτα γραψάμενος, ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον, ἐπιγράψας τάδε·

> Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε
> Μανδροκλέης Ἥρῃ μνημόσυνον σχεδίης·
> αὑτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθεὶς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κῦδος,
> Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

ταῦτα μέν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο.

Δαρεῖος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα, διέβαινε ἐς τὴν 89
Εὐρώπην, τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον, μέχρι Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περιμένειν, ζευγνύντας τὸν ποταμόν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἦγον Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰς Κυα-

νέας διεκπλώσας, ἔπλεε ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἴστρου· ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν δυῶν ἡμερέων πλόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐκ τοῦ σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἴστρου, ἐζεύγνυε. Δαρεῖος δὲ, ὡς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχεδίην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Θρηΐκης· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Τεάρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο
90 ἡμέρας τρεῖς. Ὁ δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἄριστος, τά τε ἄλλα ἐς ἄκεσιν φέροντα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυῶν δέουσαι τεσσεράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ῥέουσαι· καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραί· αἱ δὲ, θερμαί. ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐστι ἴση ἐξ Ἡραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περίνθῳ, καὶ ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίης τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, δυῶν ἡμερέων ἑκατέρη. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὗτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμόν. ὁ δὲ Κοντάδεσδος, ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην· ὁ δὲ Ἀγριάνης, ἐς τὸν Ἕβρον·
91 ὁ δὲ, ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἴνῳ πόλι. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὦν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἡσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ, στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράψας, λέγοντα τάδε· ΤΕΑΡΟΥ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙ ‘ΥΔΩΡ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝ ΠΑΡΕΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝ· ΚΑΙ ΕΠ' ΑΥΤΑΣ ΑΠΙΚΕΤΟ ΕΛΑΥΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΣΚΥΘΑΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ ΑΝΗΡ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ, ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ ‘Ο ‘ΥΣΤΑΣΠΕΟΣ, ΠΕΡΣΕΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. ταῦτα δὴ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.
92 Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμηθεὶς, ἀπίκετο ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν, τῷ οὔνομα Ἀρτισκός ἐστι, ὃς διὰ Ὀδρυσέων ῥέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος, ἐποίησε τοιόνδε. ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῇ στρατιῇ, ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λίθον ἕνα παρεξιόντα τιθέναι ἐς τὸ ἀποδεδεγμένον τοῦτο χωρίον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπετέλεσε, ἐνθαῦτα κολωνοὺς μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπὼν, ἀπέλαυνε τὴν στρατιήν.
93 Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, πρώτους αἱρέει Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἔχοντες Θρήϊκες, καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίης πόλιος οἰκημένοι, καλεύμενοι δὲ Σκυρμιάδαι καὶ

Νιψαῖοι, ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρείῳ· οἱ
δὲ Γέται, πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι, αὐτίκα ἐδου-
λώθησαν, Θρηΐκων ἐόντες ἀνδρειότατοι καὶ δικαιότατοι.
Ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν 94
ἑωυτοὺς, νομίζουσι, ἰέναι τε τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Ζάλ-
μοξιν δαίμονα. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον νομίζουσι
Γεβελέϊζιν. Διὰ πεντετηρίδος δὲ τὸν πάλῳ λαχόντα αἰεὶ
σφεων αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Ζάλμοξιν,
ἐντελλόμενοι τῶν ἂν ἑκάστοτε δέωνται. πέμπουσι δὲ
ὧδε· οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες, ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι· ἄλλοι
δὲ διαλαβόντες τοῦ ἀποπεμπομένου παρὰ τὸν Ζάλμοξιν
τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινήσαντες αὐτὸν, μετέω-
ρον ῥιπτεῦσι ἐς τὰς λόγχας. ἢν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἀνα-
παρεὶς, τοῖσι δὲ ἵλεως ὁ θεὸς δοκέει εἶναι· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἀπο-
θάνῃ, αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοί μιν ἄνδρα
κακὸν εἶναι. αἰτιησάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον, ἄλλον ἀποπέμ-
πουσι· ἐντέλλονται δὲ ἔτι ζῶντι. Οὗτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήϊ-
κες καὶ πρὸς βροντήν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες ἄνω
πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἀπειλεῦσι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν
νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον. Ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ πυνθά- 95
νομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκεόντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ
Πόντον, τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τοῦτον, ἐόντα ἄνθρωπον, δουλεῦσαι
ἐν Σάμῳ· δουλεῦσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρῃ τῷ Μνησάρχου· ἐνθεῦ-
τεν δὲ αὐτὸν, γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον, χρήματα κτήσασθαι
συχνά· κτησάμενον δὲ, ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. ἅτε δὲ
κακοβίων τε ἐόντων τῶν Θρηΐκων καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων,
τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον δίαιτάν τε Ἰάδα, καὶ
ἤθεα βαθύτερα ἢ κατὰ Θρήϊκας, οἷα Ἕλλησί τε ὁμιλή-
σαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθα-
γόρῃ, κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τὸν πανδοκεύοντα
τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους, καὶ εὐωχέοντα, ἀναδιδάσκειν
ὡς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οἱ συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων
αἰεὶ γινόμενοι ἀποθανέονται, ἀλλ' ἥξουσι ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον
ἵνα αἰεὶ περιεόντες ἕξουσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθά. ἐν ᾧ δὲ
ἐποίεε τὰ καταλεχθέντα, καὶ ἔλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτῳ κατα-
γαιον οἴκημα ἐποιέετο. ὡς δέ οἱ παντελέως εἶχε τὸ οἴ-
κημα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θρηΐκων ἠφανίσθη· καταβὰς δὲ κάτω
ἐς τὸ κατάγαιον οἴκημα, διαιτᾶτο ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία. οἱ δέ

μιν ἐπίθεόν τε, καὶ ἐπένθεον ὡς τεθνεῶτα· τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ ἐφάνη τοῖσι Θρήϊξι. καὶ οὕτω πιθανά σφι ἐγένετο τὰ
96 *ἔλεγε ὁ Ζάλμοξις. ταῦτά φασί μιν ποιῆσαι. Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτου καὶ τοῦ καταγαίου οἰκήματος οὔτε ἀπιστέω, οὔτε ὦν πιστεύω τι λίην· δοκέω δὲ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τοῦτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω. Εἴτε δὲ ἐγένετό τις Ζάλμοξις ἄνθρωπος, εἴτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων τις Γέτῃσι οὗτος ἐπιχώριος, χαιρέτω. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ, τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ χρεώμενοι, ὡς ἐχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εἵποντο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ.*

97 *Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάντων πάντων Δαρεῖος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἴωνας τὴν σχεδίην λύσαντας ἕπεσθαι κατ' ἤπειρον ἑωυτῷ, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν στρατόν. Μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων λύειν καὶ ποιέειν τὰ κελευόμενα, Κώης ὁ Ἐρξάνδρου, στρατηγὸς ἐὼν Μυτιληναίων, ἔλεξε Δαρείῳ τάδε, πυθόμενος πρότερον εἴ οἱ φίλον εἴη γνώμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδείκνυσθαι· "Ὦ βασι- "λεῦ, ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεύεσθαι, τῆς οὔτε ἀρη- "ρομένον φανήσεται οὐδὲν, οὔτε πόλις οἰκεομένη· σὺ νῦν "γέφυραν ταύτην ἔα κατὰ χώρην ἑστάναι, φυλάκους αὐ- "τῆς λιπὼν τούτους, οἵ περ μιν ἔζευξαν. καὶ ἤν τε κατὰ "νόον πρήξωμεν εὑρόντες Σκύθας, ἔστι ἄποδος ἡμῖν· ἤν "τε καὶ μὴ σφεας εὑρεῖν δυνεώμεθα, ἥ γε ἄποδος ἡμῖν "ἀσφαλής. οὐ γὰρ ἔδεισά κω, μὴ ἑσσωθέωμεν ὑπὸ Σκυ- "θέων μάχῃ· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, μὴ, οὐ δυνάμενοί σφεας εὑ- "ρεῖν, πάθωμέν τι ἀλώμενοι. Καὶ τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις "ἄν με ἑωυτοῦ εἵνεκεν, ὡς καταμένω. ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην "μὲν, τὴν εὕρισκον ἀρίστην σοι, βασιλεῦ, ἐς μέσον φέρω· "αὐτὸς μέντοι ἕψομαί τοι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν λειφθείην." Κάρτα τε ἥσθη τῇ γνώμῃ Δαρεῖος, καί μιν ἠμείψατο τοῖσδε· "Ξεῖνε Λέσβιε, σωθέντος ἐμεῦ ὀπίσω ἐς οἶκον τὸν ἐμὸν "ἐπιφάνηθί μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβου-*
98 *"λίης χρηστοῖσι ἔργοισι ἀμείψωμαι." Ταῦτα εἴπας, καὶ ἀπάψας ἅμματα ἑξήκοντα ἐν ἱμάντι, καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἰώνων τυράννους, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἡ "μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετ- "είσθω μοι· ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἱμάντα τόνδε, ποιέετε τάδε.*

"ἐπεάν με ἴδητε τάχιστα πορευόμενον ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ "τούτου ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου, λύετε ἅμμα ἓν ἑκάστης "ἡμέρης. ἢν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω, ἀλλὰ "διεξέλθωσι ὑμῖν αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἁμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς "τὴν ὑμετέρην αὐτῶν. μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπεί τε οὕτω "μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδίην, πᾶσαν προθυμίην "σωτηρίης τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ ποι-"εῦντες, ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε." Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας, ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐπείγετο.

Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἡ Θρηΐκη τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρό- 99
κειται· κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἡ Σκυθική τε ἐκδέκεται, καὶ ὁ Ἴστρος ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτὴν, πρὸς εὗρον ἄνεμον τὸ στόμα τετραμμένος. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἴστρου, ἔρχομαι σημανέων τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης ἐς μέτρησιν. Ἀπὸ Ἴστρου αὕτη ἤδη ἀρχαίη Σκυθική ἐστι, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον κειμένη, μέχρι πόλιος καλεομένης Καρκινίτιδος. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, ἐοῦσαν ὀρεινήν τε χώρην καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος, μέχρι Χερσονήσου τῆς Τρηχέης καλεομένης· αὕτη δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον κατήκει. Ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ δύο μέρεα τῶν οὔρων ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τήν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, κατάπερ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης· καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμοίατο τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακὸν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι Ἀναφλύστου δήμου. λέγω δὲ, ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβαλέειν. τοιοῦτον ἡ Ταυρική ἐστι. ὃς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω· ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἰηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος, καὶ μὴ Ἰήπυγες, ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντεσίου λιμένος, ἀποταμοίατο μέχρι Τάραντος, καὶ νεμοίατο τὴν ἄκρην. δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα, πολλὰ λέγω
παρόμοια, τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔοικε ἡ Ταυρική. Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς 100
Ταυρικῆς, ἤδη Σκύθαι τὸ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἠοίης νέμονται, τοῦ τε Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρης, καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτι-

δος, μέχρι Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. Ἤδη ὦν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἴστρου, τὰ κατύπερθε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα, ἀποκληΐεται ἡ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρώτων Ἀγαθύρσων· μετὰ δὲ, Νευρῶν· ἔπειτα δὲ, Ἀν-
101 δροφάγων· τελευταίων δὲ, Μελαγχλαίνων. Ἔστι ὦν τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς ἐούσης τετραγώνου, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκόντων ἐς θάλασσαν, πάντῃ ἴσον τό τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἴστρου ἐπὶ Βορυσθένεα δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδός· ἀπὸ Βορυσθένεός τ' ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιῆτιν, ἑτέρων δέκα· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίνους τοὺς κατύπερθε Σκυθέων οἰκημένους, εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ὁδός. ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίη ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληταί μοι. οὕτω ἂν εἴη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια, τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων· καὶ τὰ ὄρθια, τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα, ἑτέρων τοσούτων σταδίων. ἡ μέν νυν γῆ αὕτη ἐστὶ μέγαθος τοσαύτη.

102 Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον, ὡς οὐκ οἷοί τέ εἰσι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίῃ διώσασθαι μοῦνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους· τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλῆες συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο, ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλῆες, Ταύρων, καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων, καὶ Νευρῶν, καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων, καὶ Μελαγχλαίνων, καὶ Γελωνῶν, καὶ Βουδίνων, καὶ
103 Σαυροματέων. Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοισι τοιοισίδε χρέωνται. θύουσι μὲν τῇ Παρθένῳ τούς τε ναυηγοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἂν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντας, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· καταρξάμενοι, ῥοπάλῳ παίουσι τὴν κεφαλήν· οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι, ὡς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ὠθέουσι κάτω, (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἵδρυται τὸ ἱρόν·) τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι· οἱ δὲ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμολογέουσι, τὸ μέντοι σῶμα οὐκ ὠθέεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι, ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην, τῇ θύουσι, λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι. Πολεμίους δὲ ἄνδρας, τοὺς ἂν χειρώσωνται, ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποταμὼν ἕκαστος κεφαλὴν, ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἱστᾷ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίης ὑπερέχουσαν πολλὸν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνο-

δόκης. φασὶ δὲ τούτους φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίης πάσης ὑπεραιωρέεσθαι. ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ ληΐης τε καὶ πολέμου. Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ, ἁβρότατοι ἄνδρες εἰσὶ, καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ 104
μάλιστα. ἐπικοινον δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται, ἵνα κασίγνητοί τε ἀλλήλων ἔωσι, καὶ οἰκήϊοι ἐόντες πάντες, μήτε φθόνῳ, μήτ' ἔχθεϊ χρέωνται ἐς ἀλλήλους. τὰ δ' ἄλλα νόμαια Θρήϊξι προσκεχωρήκασι. Νευροὶ δὲ 105
νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι. γενεῇ δὲ μιῇ πρότερόν σφεας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων. ὄφιας γάρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρη ἀνέφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ἄνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον· ἐς ὃ, πιεζόμενοι, οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων, τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γόητες εἶναι· λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων, ὡς ἔτεος ἑκάστου ἅπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας, καὶ αὖτις ὀπίσω ἐς ταὐτὰ κατίσταται. ἐμὲ μέν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι· λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἧσσον, καὶ ὀμνύουσι δὲ λέγοντες. Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων 106
ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἤθεα· οὔτε δίκην νομίζοντες, οὔτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι. νομάδες δέ εἰσι· ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι τῇ Σκυθικῇ ὁμοίην· γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίην· ἀνθρωποφαγέουσι δὲ μοῦνοι τούτων. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἵματα 107
μὲν μέλανα φορέουσι πάντες, ἐπ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι· νόμοισι δὲ Σκυθικοῖσι χρέωνται. Βουδῖνοι δὲ, 108
ἔθνος ἐὸν μέγα καὶ πολλὸν, γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστὶ καὶ πυρρόν. πόλις δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπόλισται ξυλίνη, οὔνομα δὲ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ Γελωνός· τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος κῶλον ἕκαστον, τριήκοντα σταδίων ἐστὶ, ὑψηλὸν δὲ, καὶ πᾶν ξύλινον· καὶ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξύλιναι, καὶ τὰ ἱρά. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἱρὰ, Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ νηοῖσι ξυλίνοισι. καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τριετηρίδας ἀνάγουσι, καὶ βακχεύουσι. Εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἕλληνες· ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἐξαναστάντες, οἴκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδίνοισι· καὶ γλώσσῃ τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῇ, τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῇ χρέωνται. Βουδῖνοι δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσῃ χρέωνται 109
καὶ Γελωνοί· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δίαιτα ἡ αὐτή. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βου-

δῖνοι, ἐόντες αὐτόχθονες, νομάδες τέ εἰσι, καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτῃ· Γελωνοὶ δὲ, γῆς τε ἐργάται, καὶ σιτοφάγοι, καὶ κήπους ἐκτημένοι, οὐδὲν τὴν ἰδέην ὁμοῖοι, οὐδὲ τὸ χρῶμα. ὑπὸ μέντοι Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδῖνοι, Γελωνοὶ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς καλεόμενοι. Ἡ δὲ χώρη σφέων, πᾶσά ἐστι δασέη ἴδῃσι παντοίῃσι· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἴδῃ τῇ πλείστῃ ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλὴ, καὶ ἕλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτήν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνύδριες ἁλίσκονται, καὶ κάστορες, καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ δέρματα περὶ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται· καὶ οἱ ὄρχιες αὐτοῖσί εἰσι χρήσιμοι ἐς ὑστερέων ἄκεσιν.

110 Σαυροματέων δὲ πέρι ὧδε λέγεται. Ὅτε Ἕλληνες Ἀμαζόσι ἐμαχέσαντο, (τὰς δὲ Ἀμαζόνας καλέουσι οἱ Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα· δύναται δὲ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνοι· Οἰὸρ γὰρ καλέουσι τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ Πατὰ, κτείνειν·) τότε λόγος, τοὺς Ἕλληνας, νικήσαντας τῇ ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχῃ, ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισὶ πλοίοισι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ὅσας ἠδυνέατο ζωγρῆσαι· τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγεϊ ἐπιθεμένας, ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς, οὐδὲ πηδαλίοισι χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ ἱστίοισι, οὐδὲ εἰρεσίῃ· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐξέκοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐφέροντο κατὰ κῦμα καὶ ἄνεμον· καὶ ἀπικνέονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Κρημνούς. οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ, εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, ὁδοιπόρεον ἐς τὴν οἰκεομένην. ἐντυχοῦσαι δὲ πρώτῳ ἱπποφορβίῳ, τοῦτο διήρπασαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἱππαζόμεναι, ἐληΐζοντο
111 τὰ τῶν Σκυθέων. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα· οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν, οὔτε ἐσθῆτα, οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλ' ἐν θώματι ἦσαν ὁκόθεν ἔλθοιεν. ἐδόκεον δ' αὐτὰς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποιεῦντο· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτω ἔγνωσαν ἐούσας γυναῖκας. βουλευομένοισι ὦν αὐτοῖσι ἔδοξε κτείνειν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἔτι αὐτὰς, ἑωυτῶν δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαι ἐς αὐτὰς, πλῆθος εἰκάσαντας ὅσαιπερ ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν· τούτους δὲ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι πλησίον ἐκεινέων, καὶ

ποιέειν τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖναι ποιέωσι· ἢν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωσι, μάχεσθαι μὲν μὴ, ὑποφεύγειν δέ· ἐπεὰν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας αὐτοὺς πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ Σκύθαι, βουλόμενοι ἐξ αὐτέων παῖδας ἐγγενήσεσθαι. Ἀποπεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ἐποίευν 112
τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ δηλήσει ἀπιγμένους, ἔων χαίρειν· προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαιτέρω τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἑκάστῃ. εἶχον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους· ἀλλὰ ζόην ἔζωον τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῃσι, θηρεύοντές τε καὶ ληϊζόμενοι. Ἐποίευν δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίην τοι- 113
όνδε· ἐγίνοντο σποράδες, κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δὴ ἀπ' ἀλληλέων, ἐς εὐμαρίην ἀποσκιδνάμεναι. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐποίευν τὠυτὸ τοῦτο· καί τις μουνωθεισέων τινὶ αὐτέων ἐνεχρίμπτετο, καὶ ἡ Ἀμαζὼν οὐκ ἀπωθέετο, ἀλλὰ περιεῖδε χρήσασθαι. καὶ φωνῆσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, οὐ γὰρ συνίεσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἔφραζε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὠυτὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἕτερον ἄγειν· σημαίνουσα δύο γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὴ ἑτέρην ἄξειν. ὁ δὲ νεηνίσκος ἐπεὶ ἀπῆλθε, ἔλεξε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς· τῇ δὲ δευτεραίῃ ἦλθε ἐς τὸ χωρίον αὐτός τε οὗτος, καὶ ἕτερον ἦγε, καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα εὗρε, δευτέρην αὐτὴν ὑπομένουσαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νεηνίσκοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἀμαζόνων. Μετὰ 114
δὲ, συμμίξαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα, οἴκεον ὁμοῦ, γυναῖκα ἔχων ἕκαστος ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη. τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν, οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνέατο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναῖκες συνέλαβον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆκαν ἀλλήλων, ἔλεξαν πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας τάδε οἱ ἄνδρες· "Ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκέες, εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσεις. νῦν ὦν " μηκέτι πλεῦνα χρόνον ζόην τοιήνδε ἔχωμεν· ἀλλ' ἀπελ" θόντες ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαιτώμεθα. γυναῖκας δὲ ἕξομεν " ὑμέας, καὶ οὐδαμέας ἄλλας." Αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεξαν τάδε· "Ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετέ" ρων γυναικῶν· οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμαια ἡμῖν τε καὶ κεί" νῃσί ἐστι. ἡμεῖς μὲν τοξεύομέν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ " ἱππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικήϊα οὐκ ἐμάθομεν· αἱ δὲ

“ ὑμέτεραι γυναῖκες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέ-“ ξαμεν ποιεῦσι, ἔργα δὲ γυναικήϊα ἐργάζονται, μένουσαι “ ἐν τῇσι ἁμάξῃσι, οὔτ’ ἐπὶ θήρην ἰοῦσαι, οὔτε ἄλλη “ οὐδαμῇ. οὐκ ἂν ὦν δυναίμεθα ἐκείνῃσι συμφέρεσθαι. “ Ἀλλ’ εἰ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας ἔχειν ἡμέας, καὶ δοκέειν “ εἶναι δικαιότατοι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκέας, ἀπολά-“ χετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος· καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντες,
115 “ οἰκέωμεν ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτέων.” Ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι. ἐπεί τε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον, ἦλθον ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔλεξαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε· “ Ἡμέας ἔχει φό-“ βος τε καὶ δέος, ὅκως χρὴ οἰκέειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ· “ τοῦτο μὲν, ὑμέας ἀποστερησάσας πατέρων· τοῦτο δὲ, “ τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑμετέρην δηλησαμένας πολλά. ἀλλ’ ἐπεί “ τε ἀξιοῦτε ἡμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν, τάδε ποιέετε ἅμα ἡμῖν· “ φέρετε, ἐξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆσδε, καὶ περήσαντες
116 “ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν οἰκέωμεν.” Ἐπείθοντο καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι. διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Τάναϊν, ὡδοιπόρεον πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τανάϊδος ὁδὸν, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοίκηνται, οἴκησαν τοῦτον. καὶ διαίτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου χρέωνται τῇ παλαιῇ τῶν Σαυροματέων αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρην ἐπὶ ἵππων ἐκφοιτῶσαι ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι, καὶ στολὴν
117 τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι φορέουσαι. Φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. Τὰ περὶ γάμων δὲ ὧδέ σφι διακέεται· οὐ γαμέεται παρθένος οὐδεμία, πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ. αἱ δέ τινες αὐτέων καὶ τελευτῶσι γηραιαὶ πρὶν γήμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι.

118 Ἐπὶ τούτων ὦν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνέων τοὺς βασιλέας ἁλισμένους ἀπικόμενοι τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ ἄγγελοι, ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ὡς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδή οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῇ ἑτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου, διαβέβηκε ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἤπειρον· διαβὰς δὲ, καὶ καταστρεψάμενος Θρήϊκας, γε-

φυροὶ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. "Ὑμεῖς ὦν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ "μέσου κατήμενοι περιΐδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας· ἀλλὰ "τὠυτὸ νοήσαντες, ἀντιάζωμεν τὸν ἐπιόντα. οὔκων ποι-"ήσετε ταῦτα, ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι, ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν "χώρην, ἢ μένοντες, ὁμολογίῃ χρησόμεθα. τί γὰρ πά-"θωμεν, μὴ βουλομένων ὑμέων τιμωρέειν; Ὑμῖν δὲ οὐ-"δὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλαφρότερον. ἥκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης "οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑμέας· οὐδέ οἱ "καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψαμένῳ, ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι. "μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἐρέομεν· εἰ γὰρ "ἐπ' ἡμέας μούνους ἐστρατηλάτεε ὁ Πέρσης, τίσασθαι "τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων "τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον, οὕτω ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην· "καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι, ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει, καὶ οὐκ "ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. νῦν δὲ ἐπεί τε τάχιστα διέβη τήνδε "τὴν ἤπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδὼν γινομένους ἡμεροῦται "πάντας· τούς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ Θρήϊκας, καὶ "δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐόντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας." Ταῦτα 119
Σκυθέων ἐπαγγελλομένων, ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ βασιλέες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνέων ἥκοντες. καί σφεων ἐσχίσθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γελωνὸς, καὶ ὁ Βουδῖνος, καὶ ὁ Σαυρομάτης, κατὰ τὠυτὸ γενόμενοι, ὑπεδέκοντο Σκύθῃσι τιμωρήσειν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγάθυρσος, καὶ Νευρὸς, καὶ Ἀνδροφάγος, καὶ οἱ τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Ταύρων, τάδε Σκύθῃσι ὑπεκρίναντο· "Εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἔατε οἱ πρότερον ἀδικήσαντες "Πέρσας καὶ ἄρξαντες πολέμου, τούτων δεόμενοι τῶν νῦν "δέεσθε, λέγειν τε ἂν ἐφαίνεσθε ἡμῖν ὀρθὰ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπα-"κούσαντες, τὠυτὸ ἂν ὑμῖν ἐπρήσσομεν. νῦν δὲ ὑμεῖς τε ἐς "τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβαλόντες γῆν, ἄνευ ἡμέων, ἐπεκρατέετε "Περσέων, ὅσον χρόνον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρεδίδου· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, "ἐπεί σφεας ὡυτὸς θεὸς ἐγείρει, τὴν ὁμοίην ὑμῖν ἀποδιδοῦ-"σι. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε τι τότε ἠδικήσαμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους "οὐδὲν, οὔτε νῦν πρότεροι πειρησόμεθα ἀδικέειν. Ἢν "μέντοι ἐπίῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἄρξῃ τε ἀδικέων, καὶ "ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα. μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν, μενέομεν "παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι. ἥκειν γὰρ δοκέομεν οὐκ ἐπ' ἡμέας "Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀδικίης γενομένους."

120 Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἰθυμαχίην μὲν μηδεμίαν ποιέεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, ὅτι δή σφι οὗτοί γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο· ὑπεξιόντες δὲ, καὶ ὑπεξελαύνοντες, τὰ φρέατα, τὰ παρεξίοιεν αὐτοὶ, καὶ τὰς κρήνας συγχοῦν, τὴν ποίην τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν, διχοῦ σφέας διελόντες. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων, τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκώπασις, προσχωρέειν Σαυρομάτας· τούτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἢν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης, ἰθὺ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην ὑποφεύγοντας· ἀπελαύνοντός τε τοῦ Πέρσεω, ἐπιόντας διώκειν. αὕτη μέν σφι μία ἦν μοῖρα τῆς βασιληΐης, τεταγμένη ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἧπερ εἴρηται. τὰς δὲ δύο τῶν βασιληΐων, τήν τε μεγάλην, τῆς ἦρχε Ἰδάνθυρσος, καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευε Τάξακις, συνελθούσας ἐς τὠυτὸ, καὶ Γελωνῶν τε καὶ Βουδίνων προσγινομένων, ἡμέρης καὶ τούτους ὁδῷ προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων, ὑπεξάγειν, ὑπιόντας τε καὶ ποιεῦντας τὰ βεβουλευμένα. πρῶτα μέν νυν ὑπάγειν σφέας ἰθὺ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, ἵνα καὶ τούτους ἐκπολεμώσωσι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἑκοντες γε ὑπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἄκοντας ἐκπολεμῶσαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, καὶ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἢν δὴ
121 βουλευομένοισι δοκέῃ. Ταῦτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι, ὑπηντίαζον τὴν Δαρείου στρατιὴν, προδρόμους ἀποστείλαντες τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἀρίστους. τὰς δὲ ἁμάξας, ἐν τῇσί σφι διαιτᾶτο τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα [πάντα,] πλὴν ὅσα σφι ἐς φορβὴν ἱκανὰ ἦν, τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα ἅμα τῇσι ἁμάξῃσι προέπεμψαν, ἐντειλάμενοι αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐλαύνειν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο.

122 Τῶν δὲ Σκυθέων οἱ πρόδρομοι ὡς εὗρον τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσον τε τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἴστρου, οὗτοι μὲν τούτους εὑρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδῷ προέχοντες, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα λεαίνοντες. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον ἐπιφανεῖσαν τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἵππον, ἐπήϊσαν κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων· καὶ ἔπειτα, πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων ἴθυσαν, οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ τοῦ Ταναΐδος. διαβάντων δὲ τούτων τὸν

Τάναϊν ποταμὸν, οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον· ἐς τὸ τῶν Σαυροματέων τὴν χώρην διεξελθόντες, ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων. Ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἤϊσαν 123
διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς Σαυρομάτιδος χώρης, οἱ δὲ εἶχον οὐδὲν σινέεσθαι, ἅτε τῆς χώρης ἐούσης χέρσου· ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων χώρην ἐσέβαλον, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχεϊ, ἐκλελοιπότων τῶν Βουδίνων, καὶ κεκενωμένου τοῦ τείχεος πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτό. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες, εἵποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον· ἐς ὃ διεξελθόντες ταύτην, ἐς τὴν ἐρῆμον ἀπίκοντο. ἡ δὲ ἐρῆμος αὕτη ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νέμεται ἀνδρῶν, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρης, ἐοῦσα πλῆθος ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσσαγέται οἰκέουσι· ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσερες μεγάλοι ῥέοντες διὰ Μαιητέων ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν· τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, Λύκος, Ὄαρος, Τάναϊς, Σύργις. Ἐπεὶ ὦν 124
ὁ Δαρεῖος ἦλθε ἐς τὴν ἐρῆμον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου, ἵδρυσε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ὀάρῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, ὀκτὼ τείχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα, ἴσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίους ὡς ἑξήκοντα μάλιστά κῃ· τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σῶα ἦν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτος πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιελθόντες τὰ κατύπερθε, ὑπέστρεφον ἐς τὴν Σκυθικήν. ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράπαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντό σφι, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Δαρεῖος τείχεα μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἡμίεργα μετῆκε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἤϊε πρὸς ἑσπέρην· δοκέων τούτους τε πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν.

Ἐλαύνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν, ὡς ἐς τὴν 125
Σκυθικὴν ἀπίκετο, ἐνέκυρσε ἀμφοτέρῃσι τῇσι μοίρῃσι τῶν Σκυθέων· ἐντυχὼν δὲ, ἐδίωκε ὑπεκφέροντας ἡμέρης ὁδῷ. καὶ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίεε ἐπιὼν ὁ Δαρεῖος, οἱ Σκύθαι κατὰ τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπέφευγον ἐς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην· πρώτην δὲ, ἐς τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτους ἐτάραξαν οἵ τε Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κατηγέοντο οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τῶν Ἀνδροφάγων τοὺς χώρους. ταραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ὑπῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα. ταρασσομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἤϊσαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους. Ἀγάθυρ-

σοι δὲ ὁρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ὁμούρους φεύγοντας ὑπὸ Σκυθέων, καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἤ σφι ἐμβαλέειν τοὺς Σκύθας, πέμψαντες κήρυκα, ἀπηγόρευον Σκύθῃσι μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν τῶν σφετέρων οὔρων· προλέγοντες ὡς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐσβαλόντες, σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. Ἀγάθυρσοι μὲν προείπαντες ταῦτα, ἐβοήθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὔρους, ἐρύκειν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ, ἐσβαλόντων τῶν Περσέων ἅμα Σκύθῃσι, οὔτε πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐπιλαθόμενοί τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς, ἔφευγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐς τὴν ἐρῆμον τεταραγμένοι· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας ἀπικνέοντο· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρης ἐς τὴν σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι.

126 *Ὡς δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας Δαρεῖος ἱππέα παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθυρσον, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, τί φεύγεις αἰεὶ, ἐξόν "τοι τῶνδε τὰ ἕτερα ποιέειν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιόχρεος δοκέεις "εἶναι σεωυτῷ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὺ δὲ "στάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ συγ"γινώσκεαι εἶναι ἥσσων, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὕτω παυσάμενος τοῦ "δρόμου, δεσπότῃ τῷ σῷ δῶρα φέρων γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ,*
127 *"ἐλθὲ ἐς λόγους." Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος ἔλεγε τάδε· "Οὕτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὦ Πέρσα· "ἐγὼ οὐδένα κω ἀνθρώπων δείσας ἔφυγον, οὔτε πρότερον, "οὔτε νῦν σε φεύγω· οὐδέ τι νεώτερόν εἰμι ποιήσας νῦν "ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐώθεα ποιέειν. ὅ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μά"χομαί τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω. ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄστεα, "οὔτε γῆ πεφυτευμένη ἐστὶ, τῶν πέρι δείσαντες μὴ ἁλῷη "ἢ καρῇ, ταχύτερον συμμίσγοιμεν ἂν ἐς μάχην ὑμῖν· εἰ "δὲ δέοι πάντως ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνέεσθαι, τυγ"χάνουσι ἡμῖν ἐόντες τάφοι πατρώϊοι, φέρετε, τούτους "ἀνευρόντες, συγχέειν πειρᾶσθε αὐτούς· καὶ γνώσεσθε "τότε, εἴτε ὑμῖν μαχησόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων, εἴτε καὶ "οὐ μαχησόμεθα. πρότερον δὲ, ἢν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἱρῇ, "οὐ συμμίξομέν τοι. ἀμφὶ μὲν μάχῃ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· "δεσπότας δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω, τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγο"νον, καὶ Ἱστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασίλειαν, μούνους εἶναι. "Σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος δῶρα πέμψω*

"τοιαῦτα οἷά σοι πρέπει ἐλθεῖν· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπό- "της ἔφησας εἶναι ἐμὸς, κλαίειν λέγω." (Τοῦτό ἐστι ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις.) Ὁ μὲν δὴ κῆρυξ οἰχώκεε ἀγγελέων ταῦτα Δαρείῳ.

Οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλέες, ἀκούσαντες τῆς δουλοσύνης 128 τὸ οὔνομα, ὀργῆς ἐπλήσθησαν. τὴν μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ταχθεῖσαν, τῆς ἦρχε Σκώπασις, πέμπουσι, Ἴωσι κελεύοντες ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι τούτοισι, οἳ τὸν Ἴστρον ἐζευγμένον ἐφρούρεον· αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοισι ἔδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σῖτα δὲ ἑκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι. νωμῶντες ὦν σῖτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου, ἐποίευν τὰ βεβουλευμένα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ τρέπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων· οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἱππόται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζόν. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἂν ἐπεκούρεε· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράξαντες τὴν ἵππον ὑπέστρεφον, τὸν πεζὸν φοβεόμενοι. ἐποιεῦντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίας προσβολὰς οἱ Σκύθαι. Τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσί τε ἦν σύμμαχον, καὶ τοῖσι 129 Σκύθῃσι ἀντίξοον, ἐπιτιθεμένοισι τῷ Δαρείου στρατοπέδῳ, θῶμα μέγιστον ἐρέω· τῶν τε ὄνων ἡ φωνὴ, καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων τὸ εἶδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὄνον οὔτε ἡμίονον γῆ ἡ Σκυθικὴ φέρει, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται· οὐδὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πάσῃ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὄνος, οὔτε ἡμίονος, διὰ τὰ ψύχεα. ὑβρίζοντες ὦν οἱ ὄνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Σκυθέων· πολλάκις δὲ, ἐπελαυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταράσσοντό τε ὑποστρεφόμενοι, καὶ ἐν θώματι ἔσκον, ὀρθὰ ἱστάντες τὰ ὦτα· ἅτε οὔτε ἀκούσαντες πρότερον φωνῆς τοιαύτης, οὔτε ἰδόντες τὸ εἶδος. ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρόν τι ἐφέροντο τοῦ πολέμου.

Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι, ὅκως τοὺς Πέρσας ἴδοιεν τεθορυβημέ- 130 νους, ἵνα παραμένοιέν τε ἐπὶ πλέω χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, καὶ παραμένοντες ἀνιῴατο, τῶν πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἐόντες, ἐποίευν τοιάδε. ὅκως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιεν μετὰ τῶν νομέων, αὐτοὶ ἂν ὑπεξήλαυνον ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον· οἱ δὲ ἂν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες ἐλάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ λαβόντες, ἐπῄροντο ἂν τῷ πεποιημένῳ. Πολλάκις δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου, τέλος Δαρεῖός τε ἐν ἀπο- 131

ρίησι εἴχετο· καὶ οἱ Σκυθέων βασιλῆες μαθόντες τοῦτο, ἔπεμπον κήρυκα, δῶρα Δαρείῳ φέροντα, ὄρνιθά τε, καὶ μῦν, καὶ βάτραχον, καὶ ὀϊστοὺς πέντε. Πέρσαι δὲ τὸν φέροντα τὰ δῶρα ἐπειρώτεον τὸν νόον τῶν διδομένων· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ἢ δόντα τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκέλευε, εἰ σοφοί εἰσι, γνῶναι τὸ ἐθέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαν-
132 τες οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐβουλεύοντο. Δαρείου μέν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἦν, Σκύθας ἑωυτῷ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς, καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· εἰκάζων τῇδε, ὡς μῦς μὲν ἐν γῇ γίνεται, καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σιτεόμενος· βάτραχος δὲ ἐν ὕδατι· ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵππῳ· τοὺς δὲ ὀϊστοὺς, ὡς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀλκὴν παραδιδοῦσι. αὕτη μὲν Δαρείῳ ἡ γνώμη ἀπεδέδεκτο· συνεστήκεε δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γωβρύεω, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἑνὸς τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων. εἰκάζοντος τὰ δῶρα λέγειν· "Ἢν μὴ ὄρνιθες γενόμενοι "ἀναπτῆσθε ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἢ μυες γενόμενοι "κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύητε, ἢ βάτραχοι γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς "λίμνας ἐσπηδήσητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω, ὑπὸ τῶν-"δε τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι." Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὰ δῶρα εἴκαζον.

133 Ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην φρουρέειν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον Ἴωσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν ἥκομεν "φέροντες, ἤνπερ γε ἐθέλητε ἐσακούειν. πυνθανόμεθα "γὰρ Δαρεῖον ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν, ἑξήκοντα ἡμέρας μούνας "φρουρήσαντας τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγινομένου "ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην. "νῦν ὦν ὑμεῖς τάδε ποιεῦντες, ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔσεσθε πρὸς "ἐκείνου αἰτίης, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέων· τὰς προκειμένας "ἡμέρας παραμείναντες, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεσθε." Οὗτοι μέν νυν, ὑποδεξαμένων Ἰώνων ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ὀπίσω τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγοντο.

134 Πέρσῃσι δὲ, μετὰ τὰ δῶρα τὰ ἐλθόντα Δαρείῳ, ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζῷ καὶ ἵπποισι, ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι λαγὸς ἐς τὸ μέσον διῆξε· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ὥρεον τὸν λαγὸν, ἐδίω-

κον. ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων, καὶ βοῇ χρεωμένων, εἴρετο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων τὸν θόρυβον· πυθόμενος δέ σφεας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, εἶπε ἄρα πρὸς τούσπερ ἐώθεε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν· "Οὗτοι ὦνδρες ἡμέων "πολλὸν καταφρονέουσι· καί μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γωβρύης "εἶπαι περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων ὀρθῶς. ὡς ὦν οὕτως "ἤδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔχειν, βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ, "ὅκως ἀσφαλέως ἡ κομιδὴ ἡμῖν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω." Πρὸς ταῦτα Γωβρύης εἶπε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ σχεδὸν μὲν "καὶ λόγῳ ἠπιστάμην τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην· "ἐλθὼν δὲ, μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὁρέων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίζοντας "ἡμῖν. Νῦν ὦν μοι δοκέει, ἐπὴν τάχιστα νὺξ ἐπέλθῃ, "ἐκκαύσαντας τὰ πυρὰ, ὡς καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐώθαμεν ποιέειν, "τῶν στρατιωτέων τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς ταλαιπωρίας ἐξαπατήσαντας, καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσαντας, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον "ἰθῦσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ καί τι Ἴωσι "δόξαι τὸ ἡμέας οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι." Γωβρύης μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. Μετὰ δὲ, νύξ τε ἐγένετο, καὶ 135
Δαρεῖος ἐχρᾶτο τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ. τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσας, κατέλιπε αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. κατέλιπε δὲ τούς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενέας τῆς στρατιῆς, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄνοι βοὴν παρέχωνται, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενείης μὲν εἵνεκεν κατελίποντο, προφάσιος δὲ τῆσδε δηλαδὴ, αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιθήσεσθαι μέλλοι τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι, οὗτοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ῥυοίατο. ταῦτα τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοισι ὑποθέμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ πυρὰ ἐκκαύσας, τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον. οἱ δὲ ὄνοι, ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὁμίλου, οὕτω μὲν δὴ μᾶλλον πολλῷ ἵεσαν τῆς φωνῆς· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν ὄνων, πάγχυ κατὰ χώρην ἤλπιζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἶναι.
Ἡμέρης δὲ γενομένης, γνόντες οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ὡς προ- 136
δεδομένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Δαρείου, χεῖράς τε προετείνοντο τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι, καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, τὴν ταχίστην συστραφέντες, αἵ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ ἡ μία, Σαυρομάται καὶ Βουδῖνοι καὶ Γελω-

νοὶ, ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἴστρου. ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐόντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένου, ὥστε οὐ τετμημένων τῶν ὁδῶν· τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ, ἱππότεω, καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπισταμένου· ἁμαρτόντες ἀλλήλων, ἔφθησαν πολλῷ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἀπικόμενοι. Μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας οὔκω ἀπιγμένους, ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐόντας ἐν τῇσι νηυσί· "Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἵ τε ἡμέραι ὑμῖν "τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διοίχηνται· καὶ οὐ ποιέετέ γε δίκαια, ἔτι "παραμένοντες. ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ πρότερον δειμαίνοντες ἐμένετε, νῦν λύσαντες τὸν πόρον, τὴν ταχίστην ἄπιτε χαί"ροντες ἐλεύθεροι, θεοῖσί τε καὶ Σκύθῃσι εἰδότες χάριν. "τὸν δὲ πρότερον ἐόντα ὑμέων δεσπότην ἡμεῖς παραστη"σόμεθα οὕτω, ὥστε ἐπὶ μηδαμοὺς ἔτι ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸν "στρατεύσασθαι."

137 *Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἴωνες ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσονησιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἦν γνώμη, πείθεσθαι Σκύθῃσι, καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν Ἰωνίην· Ἱστιαίου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίη ταύτῃ, λέγοντος ὡς νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρεῖον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος· τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμιος καταιρεθείσης, οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἷός τε ἔσται ἄρχειν, οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν· βουλήσεσθαι γὰρ ἑκάστην τῶν πολίων δημοκρατέεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννεύεσθαι. Ἱστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου, αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν*
138 *Μιλτιάδεω αἱρεόμενοι. Ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οἱ διαφέροντές τε τὴν ψῆφον, καὶ ἐόντες λόγου πρὸς βασιλῆος· Ἑλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι· Δάφνις τε Ἀβυδηνὸς, καὶ Ἵπποκλος Λαμψακηνὸς, καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παριηνὸς, καὶ Μητρόδωρος Προκοννήσιος, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνὸς, καὶ Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος· οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἀπ' Ἰωνίης δὲ, Στράττις τε Χῖος, καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος, καὶ Λαοδάμας Φωκαιεὺς, καὶ Ἱστιαῖος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ἦν γνώμη ἡ προκειμένη ἐναντίη τῇ Μιλτιάδεω. Αἰολέων δὲ παρῆν λόγιμος μοῦνος Ἀρισταγόρης Κυμαῖος.*

139 *Οὗτοι ὦν ἐπεί τε τὴν Ἱστιαίου αἱρέοντο γνώμην, ἔδοξέ σφι πρὸς ταύτῃ τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπεα προσθεῖναι· τῆς*

μὲν γεφύρης λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐόντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τόξευμα ἐξικνέεται· ἵνα καὶ ποιέειν τι δοκέωσι, ποιεῦντες μηδὲν, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειρῴατο βιώμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι διαβῆναι τὸν Ἴστρον κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν· εἰπεῖν τε, λύοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἔχον. ὡς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθῃσί ἐστι ἐν ἡδονῇ. ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκαν τῇ γνώμῃ. Μετὰ δὲ, ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἱστιαῖος, τάδε λέγων· "Ἄνδρες Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ "ἥκετε φέροντες, καὶ ἐς καιρὸν ἐπείγεσθε· καὶ τά τε ἀπ' "ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς ὁδοῦται, καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἡμέων ἐς "ὑμέας ἐπιτηδέως ὑπηρετέεται. ὡς γὰρ ὁρᾶτε, καὶ "λύομεν τὸν πόρον, καὶ προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἕξομεν, θέ-"λοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡμέες τάδε λύομεν, "ὑμέας καιρός ἐστι δίζησθαι ἐκείνους· εὑρόντας δὲ, ὑπέρ "τε ἡμέων καὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὕτως ὡς κείνους "πρέπει."

Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἴωσι πιστεύσαντες λέγειν 140
ἀληθέα, ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν Περσέων, καὶ ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἴτιοι δὲ τούτου αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς νομὰς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτῃ διαφθείραντες, καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συγχώσαντες. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρεῖχε ἄν σφι, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρέειν τοὺς Πέρσας· νῦν δὲ, τά σφι ἐδόκεε ἄριστα βεβουλεῦσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλησαν. Σκύθαι μέν νυν τῆς σφετέρης χώρης τῇ χιλός τε τοῖσι ἵπποισι καὶ ὕδατα ἦν, ταύτῃ διεξιόντες, ἐδίζηντο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους, δοκέοντες καὶ ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τὴν ἀπόδρησιν ποιέεσθαι. οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι τὸν πρότερον ἑωυτῶν γενόμενον στίβον, τοῦτον φυλάσσοντες ἤϊσαν· καὶ οὕτω μόγις εὗρον τὸν πόρον. Οἷα δὲ νυκτός τε ἀπικόμενοι, καὶ λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρης ἐντυχόντες, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκατο μή σφεας
οἱ Ἴωνες ἔωσι ἀπολελοιπότες. Ἦν δὲ περὶ Δαρεῖον ἀνὴρ 141
Αἰγύπτιος, φωνέων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων· τοῦτον [δὴ] τὸν ἄνδρα καταστάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ Ἴστρου, ἐκέλευε Δαρεῖος καλέειν Ἱστιαῖον Μιλήσιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· Ἱστιαῖος δὲ, ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι, τάς τε νέας ἁπάσας παρεῖχε διαπορθμεύειν τὴν στρατιὴν, καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔζευξε. Πέρσαι μὲν ὦν οὕτω ἐκφεύ-

142 γουσι· Σκύθαι δὲ διζήμενοι, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἥμαρτον τῶν Περσέων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς ἐόντας Ἴωνας ἐλευθέρους, κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτους κρίνουσι εἶναι ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων· τοῦτο δὲ, ὡς δούλων Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον ποιεύμενοι, ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτά φασι εἶναι, καὶ ἄδρηστα μάλιστα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθῃσι ἐς Ἴωνας ἀπέρριπται.

143 Δαρεῖος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρηΐκης πορευόμενος, ἀπίκετο ἐς Σηστὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μεγάβαζον, ἄνδρα Πέρσην· τῷ Δαρεῖός κοτε ἔδωκε γέρας, τοιόνδε εἴπας ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἔπος. ὡρμημένου Δαρείου ῥοιὰς τρώγειν, ὡς ἄνοιξε τάχιστα τὴν πρώτην τῶν ῥοιέων, εἴρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀρτάβανος, ὅ τι βούλοιτ᾽ ἄν οἱ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος γενέσθαι, ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ῥοιῇ κόκκοι. Δαρεῖος δὲ εἶπε, Μεγαβάζους ἄν οἱ τοσούτους ἀριθμὸν γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπήκοον. ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσῃσι ταῦτά μιν εἴπας ἐτίμα· τότε δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπέλιπε στρατηγὸν, ἔχοντα τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἑωυ-
144 τοῦ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος, εἴπας τόδε τὸ ἔπος, ἐλείπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντίων. γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, ἐπύθετο ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτεσι πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώρην Βυζαντίων· πυθόμενος δὲ, ἔφη Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ἐόντας τυφλούς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίονος παρεόντος κτίζειν χώρου, τὸν αἰσχίονα ἑλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί. οὗτος δὴ ὦν τότε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ Ἑλλησποντίων, τοὺς μὴ μηδίζοντας κατεστρέφετο. οὗτος μέν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρησσε.

145 Τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἄλλος στρατιῆς μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόφασιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, προδιηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε. Τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παίδων παῖδες, ἐξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ληϊσαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξελασθέντες ἐκ Λήμνου, οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα· ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηϋγέτῳ, πῦρ ἀνέκαιον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἰδόντες, ἄγγελον ἔπεμπον, πευσόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὁκόθεν εἰσί. οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀγ-

γέλῳ εἰρωτέοντι ἔλεγον, ὡς εἴησαν μὲν Μινύαι, παῖδες δὲ εἶεν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλεόντων ἡρώων· προσχόντας δὲ τούτους ἐς Λῆμνον, φυτεῦσαί σφεας. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μινυέων, πέμψαντες τὸ δεύτερον, εἰρώτεον τί θέλοντες ἥκοιέν τε ἐς τὴν χώρην, καὶ πῦρ αἴθοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθέντες, ἥκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας· δικαιότατον γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι· δέεσθαί τε οἰκέειν ἅμα τούτοισι, μοῖράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἕαδε δέκεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἷσι θέλουσι αὐτοί· μάλιστα δὲ ἐνῆγέ σφεας ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαριδέων ἡ ναυτιλίη ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ. δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας, γῆς τε μετέδοσαν, καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγημαν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ Λήμνου ἤγοντο, ἐξέδοσαν ἄλλοισι. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ 146
διεξελθόντος, αὐτίκα οἱ Μινύαι ἐξύβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιληΐης μεταιτέοντες, καὶ ἄλλα ποιεῦντες οὐκ ὅσια. τοῖσι ὦν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἔδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι· συλλαβόντες δέ σφεας κατέβαλον ἐς ἑρκτήν· κτείνουσι δὲ τοὺς ἂν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, νυκτός· μετ' ἡμέρην δὲ, οὐδένα. ἐπεὶ ὦν ἔμελλόν σφεας καταχρήσεσθαι, παραιτήσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Μινυέων, ἐοῦσαι ἀσταί τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων Σπαρτιητέων θυγατέρες, ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἑρκτὴν, καὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἑκάστη τῷ ἑωυτῆς ἀνδρί. οἱ δέ σφεας παρῆκαν, οὐδένα δόλον δοκέοντες ἐξ αὐτέων ἔσεσθαι. αἱ δὲ ἐπεί τε ἐσῆλθον, ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· πᾶσαν την εἶχον ἐσθῆτα παραδοῦσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, αὐταὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον. οἱ δὲ Μινύαι, ἐνδύντες τὴν γυναικηΐην ἐσθῆτα, ἅτε γυναῖκες, ἐξήϊσαν ἔξω. ἐκφυγόντες δὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, ἵζοντο αὖτις ἐς τὸ Τηΰγετον.

Τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος, 147
τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, τοῦ Θερσάνδρου, τοῦ Πολυνείκεος, ἔστελλε ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος, γένος ἐὼν Καδμεῖος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῖσι Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶ, Εὐρυσθένεϊ καὶ Προκλέϊ· ἐόντων δ' ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων νηπίων, ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληΐην. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων, καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ

Θήρας δεινὸν ποιεύμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἐπεί τε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μένειν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν Θήρῃ καλεομένῃ νήσῳ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρεω τοῦ Ποικίλεω, ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀγήνορος, Εὐρώπην διζήμενος, προσέσχε ἐς τὴν νῦν Θήρην καλεομένην· προσχόντι δὲ εἴτε δή οἱ ἡ χώρη ἤρεσε, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, καταλείπει γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοινίκων, καὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλίαρον· οὗτοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς,
148 πρὶν ἢ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὀκτὼ ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ ὦν ὁ Θήρας, λαὸν ἔχων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλέων, ἔστελλε, συνοικήσων τούτοισι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐξελῶν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ κάρτα οἰκηϊεύμενος. Ἐπεί τε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς ἑρκτῆς ἵζοντο ἐς τὸ Τηΰγετον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομένων σφέας ἀπολλύναι, παραιτέεται ὁ Θήρας ὅκως μήτε φόνος γένηται, αὐτός τε ὑπεδέκετό σφεας ἐξάξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρισὶ τριηκοντέροισι ἐς τοὺς Μεμβλιάρεω ἀπογόνους ἔπλωσε· οὔτι πάντας ἄγων τοὺς Μινύας, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους τινάς. οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς τοὺς Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας· τούτους δ' ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρης, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἓξ μοίρας διεῖλον· καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν πόλιας τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον, Μάκιστον, Φρίξας, Πύργον, Ἔπιον, Νούδιον· τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἠλεῖοι ἐπόρθησαν. Τῇ
149 δὲ νήσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα ἡ ἐπωνυμίη ἐγένετο. Ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τοιγαρῶν ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν ὄϊν ἐν λύκοισι· ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔπεος τούτου οὔνομα τῷ νεηνίσκῳ τούτῳ Οἰόλυκος ἐγένετο· καί κως τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Οἰολύκου δὲ γίνεται Αἰγεύς· ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγεῖδαι καλεῦνται, φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ἱδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἐρινύων τῶν Λαΐου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἱρόν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμεινε. τὠυτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήρῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγονόσι.

Μέχρι μέν νυν τούτου τοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θη- 150
ραίοισι κατὰ ταὐτὰ λέγουσι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοῦνοι Θηραῖοι ὧδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Γρῖνος ὁ Αἰσανίου, ἐὼν Θήρα τούτου ἀπόγονος, καὶ βασιλεύων Θήρης τῆς νήσου, ἀπίκετο ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκατόμβην· εἵποντο δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιητέων, καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνήστου, ἐὼν γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μινυέων. Χρεωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ τῷ βασιλέϊ τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων, χρᾷ ἡ Πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦναξ, πρεσβύτερός τε ἤδη εἰμὶ, "καὶ βαρὺς ἀείρεσθαι· σὺ δέ τινα τῶνδε τῶν νεωτέρων "κέλευε ταῦτα ποιέειν." ἅμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα, καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βάττον. τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ ἀπελθόντες, ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἴη, οὔτε τολμῶντες ἐς ἀφανὲς χρῆμα
ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην. Ἑπτὰ δὲ ἐτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ 151
ὗε τὴν Θήρην· ἐν τοῖσι τὰ δένδρεα πάντα σφι τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, πλὴν ἑνὸς, ἐξαυάνθη. χρεωμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Θηραίοισι προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίην. ἐπεί τε δὲ κακοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν σφι μῆχος, πέμπουσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους, διζημένους εἴ τις Κρητῶν ἢ μετοίκων ἀπιγμένος εἴη ἐς Λιβύην. περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὗτοι, ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Ἴτανον πόλιν· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ συμμίσγουσι ἀνδρὶ πορφυρέϊ, τῷ οὔνομα ἔην Κορώβιος· ὃς ἔφη ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἀπενειχθεὶς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Πλατέαν νῆσον. μισθῷ δὲ τοῦτον πείσαντες ἦγον ἐς Θήρην. ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἔπλεον κατάσκοποι ἄνδρες, τὰ πρῶτα οὐ πολλοί. κατηγησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κορωβίου ἐς τὴν νῆσον ταύτην δὴ τὴν Πλατέαν, τὸν μὲν Κορώβιον λείπουσι, σιτία καταλιπόντες ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔπλεον τὴν ταχίστην
ἀπαγγελέοντες Θηραίοισι περὶ τῆς νήσου. Ἀποδημεόν- 152
των δὲ τούτων πλέω χρόνον τοῦ συγκειμένου, τὸν Κορώβιον ἐπέλιπε τὰ πάντα. μετὰ δὲ νηῦς Σαμίη, τῆς ναύκληρος ἔην Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, ἀπηνείχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου, καὶ γλιχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου, ἔπλεον, ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπηλιώτῃ ἀνέμῳ·

καὶ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπερήσαντες, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ταρτησσὸν, θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ὥστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι ὀπίσω, μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκίην ἴδμεν, ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετά γε Σώστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος, Αἰγινήτην· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἷά τέ ἐστι ἐρίσαι ἄλλον. οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες, ἓξ τάλαντα, ἐποιήσαντο χαλκήϊον, κρητῆρος Ἀργολικοῦ τρόπον· πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαὶ πρόκροσσοί εἰσι· καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον, ὑποστήσαντες αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσοὺς ἑπταπήχεας, τοῖσι γούνασι ἐρηρεισμένους. Κυρηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Θηραίοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου
153 πρῶτα φιλίαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν. Οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι, ἐπεί τε τὸν Κορώβιον λιπόντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην, ἀπήγγελον ὥς σφι εἴη νῆσος ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ ἐκτισμένη. Θηραίοισι δὲ ἔαδε ἀδελφεόν τε ἀπ᾽ ἀδελφεοῦ πέμπειν, πάλῳ λαχόντα· καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων ἁπάντων, ἑπτὰ ἐόντων, ἄνδρας· εἶναι δέ σφεων καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον. οὕτω δὴ στέλλουσι δύο πεντηκοντέρους ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν.

154 Ταῦτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι· τὰ δ᾽ ἐπίλοιπα τοῦ λόγου, συμφέρονται ἤδη Θηραῖοι Κυρηναίοισι. Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ τὰ περὶ Βάττον οὐδαμῶς ὁμολογέουσι Θηραίοισι. λέγουσι γὰρ οὕτω· ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης Ἀξὸς πόλις, ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεύς· ὃς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγημε ἄλλην γυναῖκα. ἡ δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἐδικαίευ εἶναι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μητρυιὴ τῇ Φρονίμῃ, παρέχουσά τε κακὰ, καὶ πᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη· καὶ τέλος, μαχλοσύνην ἐπενείκασά οἱ, πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω. ὁ δὲ, ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, ἔργον οὐκ ὅσιον ἐμηχανᾶτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρί. ἦν γὰρ δὴ Θεμίσων, ἀνὴρ Θηραῖος ἔμπορος, ἐν τῇ Ἀξῷ· τοῦτον ὁ Ἐτέαρχος παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ ξείνια, ἐξορκοῖ, ἦ μέν οἱ διηκονήσειν ὅ τι ἂν δεηθῇ. ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐξόρκωσε, ἀγαγών οἱ παραδιδοῖ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε καταποντῶσαι ἀπαγαγόντα. ὁ δὲ Θεμίσων, περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὅρκου, καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν

ξεινίην, ἐποίεε τοιάδε. παραλαβὼν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε· ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πελάγεϊ, ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν τοῦ Ἐτεάρχου, σχοινίοισι αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπάσας δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Θήρην. Ἐν- 155 θεῦτεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν Πολύμνηστος, ἐὼν τῶν Θηραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεύετο· χρόνου δὲ περιϊόντος ἐξεγένετό οἱ πάϊς ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ τραυλὸς, τῷ οὔνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος, ὡς Θηραῖοί τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι· ὡς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἄλλο τι· Βάττος δὲ μετωνομάσθη, ἐπεί τε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπίκετο, ἀπό τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεύμενος· Λίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα Βάττον καλέουσι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω θεσπίζουσαν τὴν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Λιβυκῇ γλώσσῃ, εἰδυῖαν ὡς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύῃ. ἐπεί τε γὰρ ἠνδρώθη οὗτος, ἦλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπειρωτέοντι δέ οἱ χρᾷ ἡ Πυθίη τάδε·

Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες· ἄναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα.

ὥσπερ εἰ εἴποι Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ χρεωμένη· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, "ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες." Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "Ὦ ʼναξ, "ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σὲ χρησόμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· "σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρᾷς, κελεύων Λιβύην ἀποι-"κίζειν· τέῳ δυνάμει; κοίῃ χειρί;" Ταῦτα λέγων, οὐκὶ ἔπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χρᾶν. ὡς δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐθέσπιζέ οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἴχετο μεταξὺ ἀπολιπὼν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην. Μετὰ δὲ, αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θηραί- 156 οισι συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως. ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν. Ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροισι. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὗτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅ τι ποιέωσι ἄλλο, ὀπίσω ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην. οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι καταγομένους ἔβαλλον, καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίσχειν, ἀλλ' ὀπίσω πλώειν ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ, ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ὀπίσω ἀπέπλωον· καὶ ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένην, τῇ

οὔνομα, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, ἐστὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται
δὲ ἴση εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρηναίων πόλι.
157 Ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφι χρηστὸν
συνεφέρετο, ἕνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες, οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες
ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφούς. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον,
ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε τὴν Λιβύην, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμει-
νον πρήσσειν οἰκεῦντες. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι πρὸς ταῦτα
χρᾷ τάδε·

> Αἰ τὺ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον,
> μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίην σευ.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον, ἀπέπλωον
ὀπίσω· οὐ γὰρ δή σφεας ἀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης, πρὶν
δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν Λιβύην. Ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς
τὴν νῆσον, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν ἔλιπον, ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς
τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον ἀντίον τῆς νήσου, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἄζι-
ρις, τὸν νάπαι τε κάλλισται ἐπ' ἀμφότερα συγκληΐουσι,
158 καὶ ποταμὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει. Τοῦτον οἴκεον
τὸν χῶρον ἓξ ἔτεα· ἑβδόμῳ δέ σφεας ἔτεϊ παραιτησάμενοι
οἱ Λίβυες, ὡς ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον ἄξουσι, ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλι-
πεῖν. ἦγον δέ σφεας ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Λίβυες ἀναστήσαντες
πρὸς ἑσπέρην· καὶ τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν χώρων, ἵνα διεξιόν-
τες οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ ἴδοιεν, συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὥρην τῆς
ἡμέρης, νυκτὸς παρῆγον· ἔστι δὲ τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὔνομα
Ἴρασα. ἀγαγόντες δέ σφεας ἐπὶ κρήνην λεγομένην εἶναι
Ἀπόλλωνος, εἶπαν· "Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν
"ἐπιτήδεον οἰκέειν· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται."
159 Ἐπὶ μέν νυν Βάττεώ τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ζόης, ἄρξαν-
τος ἐπὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρ-
κεσίλεω, ἄρξαντος ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεα, οἴκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι,
ἐόντες τοσοῦτοι, ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν·
ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττεω τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου,
Ἕλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συν-
οικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην· ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ
Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ. ἔχρησε δὲ ὧδε ἔχοντα·

> Ὃς δέ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολυήρατον ὕστερον ἔλθῃ
> γᾶς ἀναδαιομένας, μετά οἵ ποκα φαμι μελήσειν.

Συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περι-

ταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀδικρὰν, οἷα τῆς τε χώρης στερισκόμενοι, καὶ περιϋβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀπρίῃ, τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέϊ. ὁ δὲ, συλλέξας στρατὸν Αἰγυπτίων πολλὸν, ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἐς Ἴρασα χῶρον, καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστην, συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῇ συμβολῇ. ἅτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων, καὶ παραχρεώμενοι, διεφθάρησαν οὕτω, ὥστε ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀπρίῃ, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττεω γίνεται πάϊς Ἀρκεσίλεως· ὃς 160
βασιλεύσας, πρῶτα τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐστασίασε, ἐς ὅ μιν οὗτοι ἀπολιπόντες οἴχοντο ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Λιβύης· καὶ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν βαλλόμενοι, ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην, ἣ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη καλέεται· κτίζοντες δ' ἅμα αὐτὴν, ἀπιστᾶσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβυας. Μετὰ δὲ, Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους τε τῶν Λιβύων, καὶ ἀποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους, ἐστρατεύετο· οἱ δὲ Λίβυες δείσαντες αὐτὸν, οἴχοντο φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἠοίους τῶν Λιβύων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως εἵπετο φεύγουσι· ἐς οὗ ἐν Λεύκωνί τε τῆς Λιβύης ἐγίνετο ἐπιδιώκων, καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖσι Λίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ. συμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο, ὥστε ἑπτακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας Κυρηναίων ἐνθαῦτα πεσέειν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τρῶμα τοῦτο, Ἀρκεσίλεων μὲν κάμνοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον πεπωκότα ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Λέαρχος ἀποπνίγει· Λέαρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ
ἡ Ἀρκεσίλεω δόλῳ κτείνει, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἔρυξώ. Διε- 161
δέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιληΐην τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ὁ πάϊς Βάττος, χωλὸς ἐὼν καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίπους. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρησομένους, ὅν τινα τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἂν οἰκέοιεν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινέης τῆς Ἀρκάδων καταρτιστῆρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αἴτεον ὦν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Δημώναξ. Οὗτος ὦν ὠνὴρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν

Κυρήνην, καὶ μαθὼν ἕκαστα, τοῦτο μὲν, τριφύλους ἐποίησέ σφεας, τῇδε διαθείς· Θηραίων μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῶν περιοίκων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε· ἄλλην δὲ, Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν· τρίτην δὲ, νησιωτέων πάντων· τοῦτο δὲ, τῷ βασιλέϊ Βάττῳ τεμένεα ἐξελὼν, καὶ ἱρωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλέες, ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

162 Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ Βάττεω οὕτω διετέλεε ἐόντα· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς Ἀρκεσίλεω πολλὴ ταραχὴ περὶ τῶν τιμέων ἐγένετο. Ἀρκεσίλεως γὰρ, ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης, οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημῶναξ ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεῦτεν στασιάζων ἑσσώθη, καὶ ἔφυγε ἐς Σάμον· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε. Τῆς δὲ Σαλαμῖνος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων, ὃς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θυμιητήριον, ἐὸν ἀξιοθέητον, ἀνέθηκε, τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ κέεται. ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τοῦτον ἡ Φερετίμη, ἐδέετο στρατιῆς, ἣ κατάξει σφέας ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην. ὁ δέ γε Εὐέλθων πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιήν οἱ ἐδίδου. ἡ δὲ, λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον, καλὸν μὲν, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, τὸ δοῦναί οἱ δεομένῃ στρατιήν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ διδομένῳ ἔλεγε. Τελευταῖόν οἱ ἐξέπεμψε δῶρον ὁ Εὐέλθων ἄτρακτον χρύσεον καὶ ἠλακάτην, προσῆν δὲ καὶ εἴριον. εἰπάσης δὲ αὖτις τῆς Φερετίμης τὠυτὸ ἔπος, ὁ Εὐέλθων ἔφη, τοιούτοισι

163 γυναῖκας δωρέεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιῇ. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως, τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν ἐν Σάμῳ, συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ. συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀρκεσίλεως, χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ περὶ κατόδου. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾷ τάδε· "Ἐπὶ "μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους, καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσερας, ὀκτὼ "ἀνδρῶν γενεὰς, διδοῖ ὑμῖν Λοξίης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης· "πλέον μέντοι τούτου οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι παραινέει. Σὺ "μέντοι ἥσυχος εἶναι, κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωυτοῦ. ἢν δὲ "τὴν κάμινον εὕρῃς πλέην ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσῃς τοὺς "ἀμφορέας, ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε κατ' οὖρον. εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσεις "τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθῃς ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον· εἰ δὲ μὴ,

164 "ἀποθανέαι καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων." Ταῦ-

τα ἡ Πυθίη Ἀρκεσίλεῳ χρᾷ. ὁ δὲ, παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, κατῆλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην· καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων, τοῦ μαντηΐου οὐκ ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλὰ δίκας τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αἴτεε τῆς ἑωυτοῦ φυγῆς. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἀπαλλάσσοντο, τοὺς δέ τινας χειρωσάμενος ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ. τούτους μέν νυν Κνίδιοι ἀπενειχθέντας πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην, ἐρρύσαντο, καὶ ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν. ἑτέρους δέ τινας τῶν Κυρηναίων, ἐς πύργον μέγαν Ἀγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ἰδιωτικὸν, ὕλην περινήσας ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε. Μαθὼν δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἐξεργασμένοισι τὸ μαντήϊον ἐὸν τοῦτο, ὅτι μιν ἡ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα εὑρόντα ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐξοπτῆσαι, ἔργετο ἑκὼν τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων πόλιος, δειμαίνων τε τὸν κεχρημένον θάνατον, καὶ δοκέων ἀμφίρρυτον τὴν Κυρήνην εἶναι. Εἶχε δέ γυναῖκα συγγενέα ἑωυτοῦ, θυγατέρα δὲ τοῦ τῶν Βαρκαίων βασιλέος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀλαζίρ· παρὰ τοῦτον ἀπικνέεται. καί μιν Βαρκαῖοί τε ἄνδρες, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινὲς, καταμαθόντες ἀγοράζοντα, κτείνουσι· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀλαζῖρα. Ἀρκεσίλεως μέν νυν, εἴτε ἑκὼν εἴτε ἄκων ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ, ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ.

Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη, τέως μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐν τῇ 165
Βάρκῃ διαιτᾶτο ἐξεργασμένος ἑωυτῷ κακὸν, ἡ δὲ εἶχε αὐτὴ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνῃ, καὶ τἄλλα νεμομένη, καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρίζουσα· ἐπεί τε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ ἀποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παῖδα, φεύγουσα οἰχώκεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἦσαν γάρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω εὐεργεσίαι ἐς Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου πεποιημέναι· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως, ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύσῃ ἔδωκε, καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο. Ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἡ Φερετίμη, Ἀρυάνδεω ἱκέτις ἕζετο, τιμωρῆσαι ἑωυτῇ κελεύουσα· προϊσχομένη πρόφασιν, ὡς διὰ τὸν μηδισμὸν ὁ παῖς οἱ τέθνηκε.
Ὁ δὲ Ἀρυάνδης ἦν οὗτος τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὕπαρχος ὑπὸ 166
Καμβύσεω κατεστεώς· ὃς ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τούτων παρισεύμενος Δαρείῳ διεφθάρη. πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἰδὼν Δαρεῖον ἐπιθυμέοντα μνημόσυνον ἑωυτοῦ λιπέσθαι, τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλῳ εἴη βασιλέϊ κατεργασμένον, ἐμιμέετο τοῦτον·

ἐς οὗ ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν. Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον, νόμισμα ἐκόψατο· Ἀρυάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἰγύπτου, ἀργύριον τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεε· καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργύριον καθαρώτατον τὸ Ἀρυανδικόν. μαθὼν δὲ Δαρεῖός μιν ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, αἰτίην οἱ ἄλλην
167 ἐπενείκας, ὥς οἱ ἐπανιστέατο, ἀπέκτεινε. Τότε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἀρυάνδης κατοικτείρας Φερετίμην, διδοῖ αὐτῇ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἅπαντα, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικόν· στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ Ἄμασιν ἀπέδεξε, ἄνδρα Μαράφιον· τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην, ἐόντα Πασαργάδην γένος. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν στρατιὴν, ὁ Ἀρυάνδης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βάρκην κήρυκα, ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεων ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ Βαρκαῖοι αὐτοὶ ὑποδεκέατο πάντες· πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀρυάνδης, οὕτω δὴ τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέστειλε ἅμα τῇ Φερετίμῃ. Αὕτη μέν νυν αἰτίη πρόσχημα τοῦ λόγου ἐγίνετο· ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιὴ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύων καταστροφῇ. Λιβύων γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖά ἐστι· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὀλίγα βασιλέος ἦν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέω ἐφρόντιζε Δαρείου οὐδέν.

168 Οἰκέουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβυες. Ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι, πρῶτοι Ἀδυρμαχίδαι Λιβύων κατοίκηνται· οἳ νόμοισι μὲν τὰ πλέω Αἰγυπτίοισι χρέωνται, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἵην περ οἱ ἄλλοι Λίβυες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ ἑκατέρῃ τῶν κνημέων φορέουσι χάλκεον· τὰς κεφαλὰς δὲ κομῶσαι, τοὺς φθεῖρας ἐπεὰν λάβωσι τοὺς ἑωυτῆς ἑκάστη ἀντιδάκνει, καὶ οὕτω ῥίπτει. οὗτοι δὲ μοῦνοι Λιβύων τοῦτο ἐργάζονται· καὶ τῷ βασιλέϊ μοῦνοι τὰς παρθένους μελλούσας συνοικέειν ἐπιδεικνύουσι· ἣ δὲ ἂν τῷ βασιλέϊ ἀρεστὴ γένηται, ὑπὸ τούτου διαπαρθενεύεται. παρήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι οἱ Ἀδυρμαχίδαι ἀπ᾽ Αἰ-
169 γύπτου μέχρι λιμένος, τῷ οὔνομα Πλυνός ἐστι. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλιγάμμαι, νεμόμενοι τὴν πρὸς ἑσπέρην χώρην, μέχρι Ἀφροδισιάδος νήσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χώρῳ ἥ τε Πλατέα νῆσος ἐπικέεται, τὴν ἔκτισαν Κυρηναῖοι· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Μενελάϊος λιμήν ἐστι, καὶ Ἄζιρις, τὴν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οἴκεον· καὶ τὸ σίλφιον ἄρχεται

ἀπὸ τούτου. παρήκει δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατέης νήσου μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος τὸ σίλφιον. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται οὗτοι παραπλησίοισι τοῖσι ἑτέροισι. Γιλιγαμμέων δὲ 170
ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης Ἀσβύσται. οὗτοι τὸ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης οἰκέουσι, ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ οὐ κατήκουσι Ἀσβύσται· τὸ γὰρ παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηναῖοι νέμονται. τεθριπποβάται δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Λιβύων εἰσί. νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεῦνας μιμέεσθαι ἐπιτηδεύουσι τοὺς Κυρηναίων. Ἀσβυστέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης 171
Αὐσχίσαι. οὗτοι ὑπὲρ Βάρκης οἰκέουσι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ' Εὐεσπερίδας. Αὐσχισέων δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆς χώρης οἰκέουσι Κάβαλες, ὀλίγον ἔθνος, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ Ταύχειρα πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης· νόμοισι δὲ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης. Αὐσχισέων δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ἔχονται 172
Νασαμῶνες, ἔθνος ἐὸν πολλόν· οἳ τὸ θέρος καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀναβαίνουσι ἐς Αὔγιλα χῶρον, ὀπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφέες πεφύκασι, πάντες ἐόντες καρποφόροι. τοὺς δὲ ἀττελέβους ἐπεὰν θηρεύσωσι, αὐήναντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, καταλέουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσοντες, πίνουσι. γυναῖκας δὲ νομίζοντες πολλὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος, ἐπίκοινον αὐτέων τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται, τρόπῳ παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ Μασσαγέται· ἐπεὰν σκίπωνα προστήσωνται, μίσγονται. πρῶτον δὴ γαμέοντος Νασαμῶνος ἀνδρὸς, νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισγομένην· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστός οἱ μιχθῇ, διδοῖ δῶρον τὸ ἂν ἔχῃ φερόμενος ἐξ οἴκου. Ὁρκίοισι δὲ καὶ μαντικῇ χρέωνται τοιῇδε. ὀμνύουσι μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι ἄνδρας δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπτόμενοι. Μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμέωνται· τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδῃ ἐν τῇ ὄψει ἐνύπνιον, τούτῳ χρᾶται. Πίστισι δὲ τοιῇσίδε χρέωνται. ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοῖ πιεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου πίνει· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔχωσι ὑγρὸν μηδὲν, οἱ δὲ τῆς χαμάθεν σποδοῦ λαβόντες λείχουσι.

Νασαμῶσι δὲ προσίμουροί εἰσι Ψύλλοι. οὗτοι ἐξα- 173

*πολώλασι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ὁ νότος σφι πνέων ἄνεμος τὰ
ἔλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξηύηνε· ἡ δὲ χώρη σφι πᾶσα ἐντὸς
ἐοῦσα τῆς Σύρτιος, ἦν ἄνυδρος. οἱ δὲ, βουλευσάμενοι,
κοινῷ λόγῳ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον· (λέγω δὲ ταῦτα
τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες·) καὶ ἐπεί τε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ,
πνεύσας ὁ νότος κατέχωσέ σφεας. ἐξαπολομένων δὲ
174 τούτων, ἔχουσι τὴν χώρην οἱ Νασαμῶνες. Τούτων δὲ
κατύπερθε, πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον, ἐν τῇ θηριώδεϊ οἰκέουσι
Γαράμαντες· οἳ πάντα ἄνθρωπον φεύγουσι, καὶ παντὸς
ὁμιλίην· καὶ οὔτε ὅπλον ἐκτέαται ἀρήϊον οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἀμύ-
175 νεσθαι ἐπιστέαται. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι
Νασαμώνων· τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς
ἑσπέρης Μάκαι· οἳ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν
τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὔξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κείροντες
ἐν χροΐ· ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίων δορὰς
φορέουσι προβλήματα. διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κίνυψ ποταμὸς
ῥέων ἐκ λόφου καλευμένου Χαρίτων, ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ.
ὁ δὲ λόφος οὗτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἴδησί ἐστι, ἐούσης τῆς
ἄλλης τῆς προκαταλεχθείσης Λιβύης ψιλῆς. ἀπὸ θα-
176 λάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι διηκόσιοί εἰσι. Μακέων δὲ
τούτων ἐχόμενοι Γίνδανές εἰσι· τῶν αἱ γυναῖκες περισφύ-
ρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἑκάστη φορέει, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὡς
λέγεται· κατ᾽ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον μιχθέντα περισφύριον περι-
δέεται· ἣ δ᾽ ἂν πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι,
177 ὡς ὑπὸ πλείστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθεῖσα. Ἀκτὴν δὲ προέχου-
σαν ἐς τὸν πόντον τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Λωτο-
φάγοι· οἳ τὸν καρπὸν μοῦνον τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ζώουσι.
ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπός ἐστι μέγαθος ὅσον τε τῆς σχίνου·
γλυκύτητα δὲ, τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ προσείκελος. ποι-
εῦνται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Λωτοφάγοι καὶ οἶνον.
178 Λωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλυες,
τῷ λωτῷ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἧσσόν γε τῶν
πρότερον λεχθέντων. κατήκουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν,
τῷ οὔνομα Τρίτων ἐστί. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς λίμνην με-
γάλην Τριτωνίδα· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἔνι, τῇ οὔνομα Φλά.
ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισί φασι λόγιον εἶναι
179 κτίσαι. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος· Ἰήσονα, ἐπεί
τε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ ἡ Ἀργὼ, ἐσθέμενον ἐς*

*αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἑκατόμβην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεον,
περιπλώειν Πελοπόννησον, βουλόμενον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπι-
κέσθαι· καί μιν, ὡς πλέοντα γενέσθαι κατὰ Μαλέην, ὑπο-
λαβεῖν ἄνεμον βορῆν, καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην·
πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης
τῆς Τριτωνίδος. καί οἱ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν λόγος
ἐστὶ φανῆναι Τρίτωνα, καὶ κελεύειν τὸν Ἰήσονα ἑωυτῷ
δοῦναι τὸν τρίποδα· φάμενόν σφι καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν,
καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέειν. πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰήσονος,
οὕτω δὴ τόν τε διέκπλοον τῶν βραχέων δεικνύναι τὸν
Τρίτωνά σφι, καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἑωυτοῦ ἱρῷ·
ἐπιθεσπίσαντά τε τῷ τρίποδι, καὶ τοῖσι σὺν Ἰήσονι ση-
μήναντα τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐπεὰν τὸν τρίποδα κομίση-
ται τῶν ἐκγόνων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ συμπλεόντων, τότε
ἑκατὸν πόλιας οἰκῆσαι περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Ἑλλη-
νίδας πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀνάγκην. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπι-
χωρίους τῶν Λιβύων, κρύψαι τὸν τρίποδα. Τούτων δὲ* 180
*ἔχονται τῶν Μαχλύων Αὐσεῖς. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλυες
πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι· τὸ μέσον δέ σφι
οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλυες τὰ ὀπίσω κομέ-
ουσι τῆς κεφαλῆς· οἱ δὲ Αὐσεῖς, τὰ ἔμπροσθε. Ὁρτῇ δὲ
ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίης αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα διαστᾶσαι
μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας λίθοισί τε καὶ ξύλοισι, τῇ αὐθι-
γενέϊ θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην
καλέομεν. τὰς δὲ ἀποθνησκούσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν
τρωμάτων, ψευδοπαρθένους καλέουσι. πρὶν δὲ ἀνεῖναι
αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τάδε ποιεῦσι· κοινῇ παρθένον τὴν καλ-
λιστεύουσαν ἑκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνῇ τε Κορινθίῃ καὶ
πανοπλίῃ Ἑλληνικῇ, καὶ ἐπ' ἅρμα ἀναβιβάσαντες, περι-
άγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ. ὁτέοισι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον
τὰς παρθένους, πρὶν ἤ σφι Ἕλληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ
ἔχω εἶπαι· δοκέω δ' ὦν Αἰγυπτίοισι ὅπλοισι κοσμέεσθαι
αὐτάς. ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κρά-
νος φημὶ ἀπῖχθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην
φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος
λίμνης· καί μιν μεμφθεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ, δοῦναι ἑωυτὴν
τῷ Διΐ· τὸν δὲ Δία ἑωυτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα.
ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι. Μίξιν δὲ ἐπίκοινον τῶν γυναικῶν*

ποιέονται, οὔτε συνοικέοντες, κτηνηδόν τε μισγόμενοι.
ἐπεὰν δὲ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον ἁδρὸν γένηται, συμφοιτέουσι
ἐς τὠυτὸ οἱ ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνός, καὶ τῷ ἂν οἴκῃ τῶν ἀν-
δρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται.

181 Οὗτοι μὲν οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι τῶν Νομάδων Λιβύων
εἰρέαται. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἡ θηριώδης ἐστὶ
Λιβύη· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς θηριώδεος, ὀφρύη ψάμμης κατήκει,
παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιέων ἐπὶ Ἡρα-
κληΐας στήλας. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀφρύῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα διὰ δέκα
ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, ἁλός ἐστι τρύφεα κατὰ χόνδρους μεγάλους
ἐν κολωνοῖσι· καὶ ἐν κορυφῇσι ἑκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ ἀνα-
κοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἁλὸς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ γλυκύ. περὶ
δὲ αὐτὸ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἔσχατοι πρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου, καὶ
ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδεος. Πρῶτοι μὲν, ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ δέκα
ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, Ἀμμώνιοι, ἔχοντες τὸ ἱρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θη-
βαιέος Διός· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Θήβῃσι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον
εἴρηταί μοι, κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τὤγαλμά ἐστι. τυγ-
χάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναῖον ἐόν· τὸ τὸν μὲν
ὄρθρον γίνεται χλιαρὸν, ἀγορῆς δὲ πληθυούσης ψυχρό-
τερον· μεσαμβρίη τέ ἐστι, καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεται ψυχρόν·
τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἄρδουσι τοὺς κήπους· ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς
ἡμέρης ὑπίεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὗ δύεταί τε ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ
τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰὸν ἐς τὸ θερμὸν
ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάζει· τηνικαῦτα δὲ ζέει ἀμβολάδην·
παρέρχονταί τε μέσαι νύκτες, καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἠῶ.
ἐπίκλησιν δὲ αὕτη ἡ κρήνη καλέεται Ἡλίου.

182 Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους, διὰ τῆς ὀφρύης τῆς ψάμμου,
δι' ἄλλεων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, κολωνός τε ἁλός ἐστι
ὅμοιος τῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν
οἰκέουσι· τῷ δὲ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὔνομα Αὔγιλά ἐστι. ἐς
τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον οἱ Νασαμῶνες ὀπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοί-
183 νικας φοιτέουσι. Ἀπὸ δὲ Αὐγίλων, διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων
ἄλλεων ὁδοῦ, ἕτερος ἁλὸς κολωνὸς, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ φοίνικες
καρποφόροι πολλοὶ, κατάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἑτέροισι· καὶ
ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῖσι οὔνομα Γαράμαντές
ἐστι, ἔθνος μέγα ἰσχυρῶς· οἳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅλα γῆν ἐπιφορέον-
τες, οὕτω σπείρουσι· συντομώτατον δ' ἐστὶ ἐς τοὺς Λωτο-
φάγους, ἐκ τῶν τριήκοντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδός ἐστι·

ἐν τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὀπισθονόμοι βόες γίνονται· ὀπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τόδε εἰσί· τὰ κέρεα ἔχουσι κεκυφότα ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε· διὰ τοῦτο ὀπίσω ἀναχωρέοντες, νέμονται· ἐς γὰρ τὸ ἔμπροσθε οὐκ οἷοί τέ εἰσι, προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν κερέων· ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητά τε καὶ τρίψιν. Οἱ Γαράμαντες δὲ οὗτοι τοὺς Τρωγλοδύτας Αἰθίοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι. οἱ γὰρ Τρωγλοδύται Αἰθίοπες πόδας τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰσὶ, τῶν ἡμεῖς πέρι λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούομεν. σιτέονται δὲ οἱ Τρωγλοδύται ὄφις καὶ σαύρας, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἑρπετῶν. γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμιῇ ἄλλῃ παρομοίην νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασι, κατάπερ αἱ νυκτερίδες.

Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαραμάντων δι᾽ ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, 184
ἄλλος ἁλός τε κολωνὸς, καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι, τοῖσι οὔνομά ἐστι Ἀτάραντες· οἳ ἀνώνυμοί εἰσι μοῦνοι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ἁλέσι μὲν γάρ σφί ἐστι Ἀτάραντες οὔνομα, ἑνὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν οὔνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. οὗτοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντι καταρέωνται, καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ λοιδορέονται, ὅτι σφέας καίων ἐπιτρίβει, αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τὴν χώρην αὐτῶν. Μετὰ δὲ, δι᾽ ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, ἄλλος κολωνὸς ἁλὸς, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ ἁλὸς τούτου οὖρος, τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Ἄτλας· ἔστι δὲ στεινὸν καὶ κυκλοτερὲς πάντῃ· ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δή τι λέγεται, ὡς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἷά τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα, οὔτε θέρεος, οὔτε χειμῶνος. τοῦτο τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ οὔρεος οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο· καλέονται γὰρ δὴ Ἄτλαντες. λέγονται δὲ οὔτε ἔμψυχον οὐδὲν σιτέεσθαι, οὔτε ἐνύπνια ὁρᾶν.

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀτλάντων τούτων, ἔχω τὰ οὐνό- 185
ματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀφρύῃ κατοικημένων καταλέξαι· τὸ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τούτων, οὐκέτι. διήκει δ᾽ ὦν ἡ ὀφρύη μέχρι Ἡρακληΐων στηλέων, καὶ τὸ ἔξω τουτέων· ἔστι δὲ ἁλός τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέοντες. τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοισι πᾶσι ἐκ τῶν ἁλίνων

χόνδρων οἰκοδομέαται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἤδη τῆς Λιβύης ἄνομβρά ἐστι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠδυνέατο μένειν οἱ τοῖχοι ἐόντες ἅλινοι, εἰ ὗε. ὁ δὲ ἅλς αὐτόθι καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος ὀρύσσεται. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὀφρύης ταύτης, τὸ πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσόγαιαν τῆς Λιβύης, ἐρῆμος καὶ ἄνυδρος καὶ ἄθηρος καὶ ἄνομβρος καὶ ἄξυλός ἐστι ἡ χώρη· καὶ ἰκμάδος ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδέν.

186 *Οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπόται Λίβυες· καὶ θηλέων τε βοῶν οὔ τι γευόμενοι, διότι περ οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὗς οὐ τρέφοντες. βοῶν μέν νυν θηλέων οὐδ' αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες δικαιεῦσι πατέεσθαι, διὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστείας αὐτῇ καὶ ὁρτὰς ἐπιτελέουσι· αἱ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναῖκες οὐδὲ ὑῶν πρὸς τῇσι βουσὶ*
187 *γεύονται. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔχει. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέρης τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβυες, οὐδὲ νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρεώμενοι, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ παιδία ποιεῦντες οἷόν τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες ἐώθασι ποιέειν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων νομάδες, εἰ μὲν πάντες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἶπαι· ποιεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ τοιάδε· τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπεὰν τετραέτεα γένηται, οἴσπῃ προβάτων καίουσι τὰς ἐν τῇσι κορυφῇσι φλέβας· μετεξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν, τὰς ἐν τοῖσι κροτάφοισι· τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὡς μή σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλῆται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σφεας λέγουσι εἶναι ὑγιηροτάτους. εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθέως οἱ Λίβυες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι, ὑγιηρότατοι δ' ὦν εἰσί. ἢν δὲ καίουσι τὰ παιδία σπασμὸς ἐπιγένηται, ἐξεύρηταί σφι ἄκος· τράγου οὖρον σπείσαντες ῥύονταί σφεα. λέγω*
188 *δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες. Θυσίαι δὲ τοῖσι νομάσι εἰσὶ αἵδε. ἐπεὰν τοῦ ὠτὸς ἀπάρξωνται τοῦ κτήνεος, ῥιπτέουσι ὑπὲρ τὸν δόμον· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἀποστρέφουσι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ. θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ μούνοισι. τούτοισι μέν νυν πάντες Λίβυες θύουσι· ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ*
189 *μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ, τῷ Τρίτωνι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι. Τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθη-*

ναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτίνη ἡ ἐσθὴς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ, καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῇσι οὐκ ὄφιές εἰσι, ἀλλὰ ἱμάντινοι· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἔσταλται. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὔνομα κατηγορέει, ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης ἥκει ἡ στολὴ τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα θυσανωτὰς αἱ Λίβυσσαι, κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῳ· ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ Ἕλληνες μετωνόμασαν. Δοκέει δ' ἐμοί γε καὶ ἡ ὀλολυγὴ ἐν ἱροῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι· κάρτα γὰρ ταύτῃ χρέωνται αἱ Λίβυσσαι, καὶ χρέωνται καλῶς. Καὶ τέσσερας ἵππους συζευγνύναι παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι.
Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νομάδες κατάπερ οἱ 190
Ἕλληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων. οὗτοι δὲ κατημένους θάπτουσι· φυλάσσοντες, ἐπεὰν ἀπίῃ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅκως μιν κατίσουσι, μηδὲ ὕπτιος ἀποθανέεται. Οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθερίκων ἐνερμένων περὶ σχοίνους ἐστὶ, καὶ ταῦτα περιφορητά. νόμοισι μὲν τοιούτοισι οὗτοι χρέωνται.

Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέρης τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, Αὐσέων 191
ἔχονται ἀροτῆρες ἤδη Λίβυες, καὶ οἰκίας νομίζοντες ἐκτῆσθαι, τοῖσι οὔνομα κέεται Μάξυες· οἳ τὰ ἐπιδεξιὰ τῶν κεφαλέων κομόωσι, τὰ δ' ἐπαριστερὰ κείρουσι· τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μίλτῳ. φασὶ δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. Ἡ δὲ χώρη αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Λιβύης ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέρην, πολλῷ θηριωδεστέρη τε καὶ δασυτέρη ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρης. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τῆς Λιβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμουσι, ἔστι ταπεινή τε καὶ ψαμμώδης, μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ· ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης, ἡ τῶν ἀροτήρων, ὀρεινή τε κάρτα καὶ δασέα καὶ θηριώδης. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφιες οἱ ὑπερμεγάθεες καὶ οἱ λέοντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ, καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ ἄρκτοι, καὶ ἀσπίδες τε καὶ ὄνοι οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες· καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι, καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι οἱ ἐν τοῖσι στήθεσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡς δὴ λέγονταί γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες, καὶ γυναῖκες ἄγριαι, καὶ
ἄλλα πλήθεϊ πολλὰ θηρία ἀκατάψευστα. Κατὰ τοὺς 192
Νομάδας δέ ἐστι τούτων οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τοιάδε· πύ-

γαργοι, καὶ ζορκάδες, καὶ βουβάλιες, καὶ ὄνοι, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ ἄλλοι ἄποτοι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι· καὶ ὄρυες, τῶν τὰ κέρεα τοῖσι φοίνιξι οἱ πήχεες ποιεῦνται· μέγαθος δὲ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο κατὰ βοῦν ἐστί· καὶ βασσάρια, καὶ ὕαιναι, καὶ ὕστριχες, καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι, καὶ δίκτυες, καὶ θῶες, καὶ πάνθηρες, καὶ βόρυες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσον τε τριπήχεες χερσαῖοι, τῇσι σαύρῃσι ἐμφερέστατοι· καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ ὄφιες σμικροὶ, κέρας ἓν ἕκαστος ἔχοντες. ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία, καὶ ἅπερ τῇ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὑὸς ἀγρίου· ἔλαφος δὲ καὶ ὗς ἄγριος ἐν Λιβύῃ πάμπαν οὐκ ἔστι. μυῶν δὲ γένεα τριξὰ αὐτόθι ἐστί· οἱ μὲν, δίποδες καλέονται· οἱ δὲ, ζεγέριες· τὸ δὲ οὔνομα τοῦτό ἐστι μὲν Λιβυκὸν, δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν, βουνοί· οἱ δὲ, ἐχινέες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαῖ ἐν τῷ σιλφίῳ γινόμεναι, τῇσι Ταρτησσίῃσι ὁμοιόταται. Τοσαῦτα μέν νυν θηρία ἡ τῶν Νομάδων Λιβύων γῆ ἔχει, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἷοί τε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι.

193 Μαξύων δὲ Λιβύων Ζαύηκες ἔχονται, τοῖσι αἱ γυναῖ-
194 κες ἡνιοχεῦσι τὰ ἅρματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Τούτων δὲ Γύζαντες ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι μὲν πολλὸν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλέον λέγεται δημιουργοὺς ἄνδρας ποιέειν. μιλτοῦνται δ' ὦν πάντες οὗτοι, καὶ πιθηκοφαγέουσι· οἱ δέ σφι ἄφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν τοῖσι οὔρεσι
195 γίνονται. Κατὰ τούτους δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνιοι κέεσθαι νῆσον τῇ οὔνομα εἶναι Κύραυνιν· μῆκος μὲν διηκοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ στεινὴν, διαβατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου· ἐλαιέων τε μεστὴν καὶ ἀμπέλων. λίμνην δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς αἱ παρθένοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πτεροῖσι ὀρνίθων κεχριμένοισι πίσσῃ ἐκ τῆς ἰλύος ψῆγμα ἀναφέρουσι χρυσοῦ. Ταῦτα εἰ μέν ἐστι ἀληθέως οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω. εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν· ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ὕδατος πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὥρεον. εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῦνες αἱ λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἡ δὲ ὦν μεγίστη αὐτέων ἑβδομήκοντα ποδῶν πάντη, βάθος δὲ διόργυιός ἐστι· ἐς ταύτην κοντὸν κατιεῖσι ἐπ' ἄκρῳ μυρσίνην προσδήσαντες, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀναφέρουσι τῇ μυρσίνῃ πίσσαν, ὀδμὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν ἀσφάλτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς Πιερικῆς πίσσης

ἀμείνω. ἐσχέουσι δὲ ἐς λάκκον ὀρωρυγμένον ἀγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀθροίσωσι συχνήν, οὕτω ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι. ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἐσπέσῃ ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γῆν ἰὸν, ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἡ δὲ ἀπέχει ὡς τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης. οὕτω ὦν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῆς ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένης οἰκότα ἐστὶ ἀληθηΐῃ.

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι· εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης 196
χῶρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔξω Ἡρακληΐων στηλέων κατοικημένους, ἐς τοὺς ἐπεὰν ἀπίκωνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς παρὰ τὴν κυματωγὴν, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα, τύφειν καπνόν· τοὺς δ' ἐπιχωρίους, ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν, ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι, καὶ ἐξαναχωρέειν πρόσω ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων. τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκβάντας, σκέπτεσθαι· καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνηταί σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀπελόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ πλοῖα κατέαται· οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρὸς ὦν ἔθηκαν χρυσὸν, ἐς οὗ ἂν πείθωσι. ἀδικέειν δὲ οὐδετέρους· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἅπτεσθαι πρὶν ἄν σφι ἀπισωθῇ τῇ ἀξίῃ τῶν φορτίων, οὔτ' ἐκείνους τῶν φορτίων ἅπτεσθαι πρότερον ἢ αὐτοὶ τὸ χρυσίον λάβωσι.

Οὗτοι μέν εἰσι τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβύων ὀνομάσαι· 197
καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέος τοῦ Μήδων οὔτε τι νῦν οὔτε τότε ἐφρόντιζον οὐδέν. Τόσον δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα ἔθνεα νέμεται αὐτὴν, καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνέων, τὰ δὲ δύο, οὔ. Λίβυες μὲν καὶ Αἰθίοπες, αὐτόχθονες· οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορέω, οἱ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες· Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες,
ἐπήλυδες. Δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναί τις ἡ Λιβύη 198
σπουδαίη, ὥστε ἢ Ἀσίῃ ἢ Εὐρώπῃ παραβληθῆναι, πλὴν Κίνυπος μούνης· τὸ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ οὔνομα ἡ γῆ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔχει. αὕτη δὲ ὁμοίη τῇ ἀρίστῃ γεῶν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν· οὐδὲ οἶκε οὐδὲν τῇ ἄλλῃ Λιβύῃ. μελάγγαιός τε γάρ ἐστι, καὶ ἔπυδρος πίδαξι· καὶ οὔτε αὐχμοῦ φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν, οὔτε ὄμβρον πλέω πιοῦσα δεδήληται·

ὕεται γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Λιβύης. τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῖ
καρποῦ ταὐτὰ μέτρα τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ γῇ κατίσταται. ἀγα-
θὴ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὴν Εὐεσπερῖται νέμονται· ἐπ᾽ ἑκατοστὰ
γὰρ, ἐπεὰν αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς ἄριστα ἐνείκῃ, ἐκφέρει· ἡ δὲ ἐν
199 τῇ Κίνυπι, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια. Ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυρηναίη
χώρη, ἐοῦσα ὑψηλοτάτη ταύτης τῆς Λιβύης τὴν οἱ Νο-
μάδες νέμονται, τρεῖς ὥρας ἐν ἑωυτῇ ἀξίας θώματος.
πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῶν καρπῶν ὀργᾷ
ἀμᾶσθαί τε καὶ τρυγᾶσθαι· τούτων δὲ συγκεκομισμένων,
τῶν ὑπερθαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὀργᾷ συγκομίζε-
σθαι, τὰ βουνοὺς καλέουσι· συγκεκόμισταί τε οὗτος ὁ
μέσος καρπὸς, καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ κατυπερτάτῃ τῆς γῆς πεπαί-
νεταί τε καὶ ὀργᾷ· ὥστε ἐκπέποταί τε καὶ καταβέβρωται
ὁ πρῶτος καρπὸς, καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος συμπαραγίνεται. οὕ-
τω ἐπ᾽ ὀκτὼ μῆνας Κυρηναίους ὀπώρη ἐπέχει. Ταῦτα
μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.
200 Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροὶ Πέρσαι, ἐπεί τε ἐκ τῆς Αἰ-
γύπτου σταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρυάνδεω ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν
Βάρκην, ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν πόλιν, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδό-
ναι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω· τῶν δὲ πᾶν
γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους.
ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐννέα,
ὀρύσσοντές τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια φέροντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος,
καὶ προσβολὰς καρτερὰς ποιεύμενοι. τὰ μέν νυν ὀρύγ-
ματα ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς ἀνεῦρε ἐπιχάλκῳ ἀσπίδι, ὧδε ἐπι-
φρασθείς· περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσίσχε
πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλιος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἔσκε κωφὰ
πρὸς ἃ προσίσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρυσσόμενα ἤχεσκε ὁ χαλ-
κὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἀντορύσσοντες δ᾽ ἂν ταύτῃ οἱ Βαρκαῖοι
ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεωρυχέοντας. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ
οὕτω ἐξευρέθη· τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούοντο οἱ Βαρ-
201 καῖοι. Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλὸν τριβομένων, καὶ πιπτόντων
ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἧσσον τῶν Περσέων, Ἄμα-
σις, ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. μαθὼν
τοὺς Βαρκαίους, ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ αἱρετοὶ εἶεν,
δόλῳ δὲ αἱρετοὶ, ποιέει τοιάδε. νυκτὸς τάφρον ὀρύξας
εὐρέην, ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς· κατύπερθε δὲ
ἐπιπολῆς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε, ποιέων τῇ

ἄλλῃ γῇ ἰσόπεδον. ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐς λόγους προεκαλέετο τοὺς Βαρκαίους· οἱ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς ὅ σφι ἔαδε ὁμολογίῃ χρήσασθαι. τὴν δὲ ὁμολογίην ἐποιεῦντο τοιήνδε τινὰ, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμνοντες ὅρκια· ἐς τ' ἂν ἡ γῆ αὕτη οὕτω ἔχῃ, μένειν τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην· καὶ Βαρκαίους τε ὑποτελέειν φάναι ἀξίην βασιλέϊ, καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαίων. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὅρκιον, Βαρκαῖοι μὲν πιστεύσαντες τούτοισι, αὐτοί τε ἐξήϊσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔων παριέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸν βουλόμενον, τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀνοίξαντες. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρήξαντες τὴν κρυπτὴν γέφυραν, ἔθεον ἔσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. κατέρρηξαν δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδορκέοιεν, ταμόντες τοῖσι Βαρκαίοισι χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὅρκιον, ὅσον ἂν ἡ γῆ μένῃ κατὰ τὰ τότε εἶχε· καταρρήξασι δὲ, οὐκέτι ἔμενε τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην.

Τοὺς μέν νυν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, 202
ἐπεί τε οἱ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολόπισε κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχεος· τῶν δέ σφι γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστιξε καὶ τούτοισι τὸ τεῖχος· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων ληΐην ἐκέλευσε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιοι· τούτοισι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψε ἡ Φερετίμη.

Τοὺς ὦν δὴ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδρα- 203
ποδισάμενοι ἀπήεσαν ὀπίσω· καὶ ἐπεί τε ἐπὶ τῇ Κυρηναίων πόλι ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναῖοι λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι διεξῆκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος. διεξιούσης δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς, Βάρης μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἱρέειν τὴν πόλιν, Ἄμασις δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ οὐκ ἔα· ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι μούνην Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν. ἐς ὃ διεξελθοῦσι, καὶ ἱζομένοισι ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου ὄχθον, μετεμέλησέ σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο τὸ δεύτερον παριέναι ἐς αὐτήν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι οὐ περιώρεον. τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι, οὐδενὸς μαχομένου, φόβος ἐνέπεσε· ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον ἑξήκοντα στάδια, ἵζοντο. ἱδρυθέντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταύτῃ ἦλθε παρὰ Ἀρυάνδεω ἄγγελος, ἀποκαλέων αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναίων δεηθέντες ἐπόδιά σφι δοῦναι, ἔτυχον· λαβόντες δὲ ταῦτα,

ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον. παραλαβόντες δὲ τ
ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς Λίβυες, τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος εἵνεκα καὶ τῆ
σκευῆς τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους ἐφό
204 νευον, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέατο. Οὗτος ὁ Περσέω
στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης ἑκαστάτω ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἦλθε
τοὺς δὲ ἠνδραποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆ
Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπάστους ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα· βασι
λεὺς δέ σφι Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρίης χώρης κώμη
ἐγκατοικῆσαι. οἱ δὲ τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Βάρ
κην, ἥπερ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν οἰκευμένη ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Βακτρίῃ
205 Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ Φερετίμη εὖ τὴν ζόην κατέπλεξε. ὡς
γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης, τισαμένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους,
ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέθανε κακῶς· ζῶσα γὰρ
εὐλέων ἐξέζεσε. ὡς ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ
τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται. ἡ μὲν δὴ Φερε-
τίμης τῆς Βάττεω τοιαύτη τε καὶ τοσαύτη τιμωρίη ἐγέ-
νετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Δ΄.

NOTES.

BOOK III. THALIA.

1. Cambyses wages war against Amasis.

αἴτεε Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα = "asked from Amasis his daughter." Observe the accusative of the *thing* asked as well as the person after a verb of *asking*, as in Lat. after "rogo," and such like verbs.

κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδὴς = "especially tall and fair to look upon." This was exactly the Greek notion of beauty. Compare Tennyson's line:

"Divinely *tall*, divinely *beautiful*,"

and Aristotle's notion of beauty in his *Ethic. Nicom.*

διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος οὐ μανθάνεις = "you know not that you have been shamefully imposed upon by Amasis." Observe the *fact*, expressed in the participial form, and the impression resulting, in the purely verbal form: a construction sometimes imitated by the Romans, as in Virgil, *Æn.* II. 377:

"Sensit medios delapsus in hostes."

We may observe that as Amasis reigned 44 years (see Chap. 101), Nitetis, if her father was delivered up to the Egyptians by Amasis at the beginning of his reign, must have been at this time 44 years old at the very least.

ἐπαναστὰς = "having risen up against" (a settled form of government, see Grote).

2. The Egyptian account makes Cambyses the son of Nitetis by Cyrus.

οἰκηϊεῦνται = "*claim* as belonging to their own *house*." So, according to Malcom, the Persians made out a Persian mother for their conqueror, Alexander the Great; the pride of the conquered being thus gratified by the supposed connexion of the conqueror with themselves.

οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτοὺς = "and assuredly it could not have escaped them."

παρατρέπουσι τὸν λόγον = "pervert the account,"—*turn aside* the account.

3. Some make Nitetis the concubine of Cyrus.

ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανὸς = "to me indeed not credible." Observe the adversative clause is *omitted*, *ἄλλοις δέ.*

τὸν δὲ, διαμνημονεύοντα = "and that one *continued* to *bear* (this thing) in mind."

4. Phanes aids Cambyses in invading Egypt.

σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος ἑλεῖν = "*considering* it an important business to capture him."

σοφίῃ μιν περιῆλθε = "got *over him* with his cunning," or rather "got round" him, as we say, i.e. *over-reached*. Compare the Lat. "circumvenire" = "circumvent."

τὴν διέξοδόν οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν = "to give him a safe passage through and out" (of the country).

5. The line of coast from Phœnicia to Egypt.

Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστινῶν = "the Syrians, who were *Philistines*," who in ancient times were by far the most powerful race of *Southern* Syria, and who are thought by some to have been the Hyksos or Shepherd-invaders of Egypt.

Καδύτιος πόλιος = the city of *Jerusalem*, according to the writer in the *Dict. of Geography*, who observes that there is no mention in sacred or profane history of any other city, maritime or inland, that could at all answer to the description of Cadytis in respect to its size; and the capture of Jerusalem by Necho after the battle of Megiddo, which is evidently corrupted by Herodotus into Magdolum (II. 159), the name of a city on the frontier of Egypt towards Palæstine, with which he was more familiar, though not expressly mentioned, is implied in holy Scripture: for the deposition and deportation of Jehoahaz and the substitution and subjugation of Jehoiakim could not have been effected, unless Necho had held possession of the capital. (2 Kings xxiv. 29—35. Comp. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.) It may then be safely concluded, that Cadytis is Jerusalem; and it is remarkable that this earliest form of its classical name is nearly equivalent to the modern name by which alone it is now known to its native inhabitants." "*El-Khuds*" signifies "the Holy (city)," and this title appears to have been attached to it as early as the period of Isaiah (xlviii. 2; lii. 1), and is of frequent recurrence after the captivity. (Neh. xi. 1, 18; Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53.) Its pagan name, "Colonia Ælia Capitolina," never took any hold either on the people or the historians. It is generally supposed to be identical with "the Salem" of which Melchizedek was king. And Josephus thus derived "Jerusalem" from ἱερὸν and "Salem" = "the Holy (city) of Peace," Salem = "Shalem."

τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι. According to Æschylus (*Prometheus Vinctus*, v. 373), Typhon was placed by Zeus under Mount Ætna. Creuzer maintains that Osiris was the author of all that was *good*, and Typhon of all that was *evil*.

6, 7. Use of wine-jars since the Persian conquest of Egypt.

κέραμος = "jars," the singular being used in a *collective* sense: in the same way we have used κῦμα, πλίνθος, ἐσθής, λίθος, ἄμπελος, ἡ

ἵππος, ἡ ἀσπίς. The passage above shows very clearly the vast extent to which *wine* was used in ancient Egypt.

ἕν...ἀριθμῷ = "a *single* one" in number.

δήμαρχον. This officer was also the governor of the town, and the *nomarch* (II. 177) of the *cantons.*

ἐκ Μέμφιος = *ἐν Μέμφι.*

σάξαντες ὕδατι = "having furnished with water." See VII. 62, 70, 73, 86.

8. Fidelity of the Arabs.

σέβονται πίστις = "religiously observe their pledges of fidelity" (as much as those who observe them above all things). Supply *σεβομένοις.* So in Chap. 57 we read *ὁμοῖα τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοισι,* and in VII. 118, *δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα.* See also Thuc. I. 25; and Cic. *ad Div.* IV. 2, has "tam sum amicus rei-publicæ *quam qui maxime.*" *πίστις* = *πίστιας* by contraction.

ἐπιτάμνει = "cuts on the *surface.*" Lat. "incīdit."

λίθους ἑπτά = "*seven* stones." Observe that *seven* is a sacred number among all the Orientalists besides the Jews.

κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα. This custom is alluded to in Jeremiah ix. 16, xxxii. 9; Levit. xix. 27.

Ὀροτὰλ—Ἀλιλάτ. According to the *Biogr. Univ.* the Arabic Allah is a contraction of the article Al and of the substantive Elah, which means "God." It is probably since the triumph of the Korân in the Eastern countries that this word only is employed. Originally, the idolatrous Arabs added to that generic name of the Deity the word Taalai, which means "*very high:*" while the other powers above men were comprised under the denomination of d'Al-Kabat, "the God." The Romans and the Greeks, who understood nothing of the idioms of these people, translated these two names by those of Orotalt and Alilat, and made them two principal divinities of the Arabs.

9. How the Arabians supplied the army of Cambyses with water.

ἀσκοὺς καμήλων = "bags made of camels' skins:" such are even now in use for the caravans and for a like purpose. See VII. 26.

δεξαμενὰς = "*receivers,*" or "reservoirs." The whole is a most improbable story.

10. The death of Amasis, after a long reign.

ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι, κ.τ.λ. "Showers fall annually at Thebes, perhaps, on an average, four or five in the year: and every eight or ten years heavy rains fill the torrent-beds of the mountains, which run to the banks of the Nile." Wilkinson, *Theb.* page 75.

καὶ τότε = "*even* then." Here *καὶ* is *emphatic* rather than merely *connective,* as "et" and "vel" often in Latin.

ψακάδι = "a *drizzling* shower." Some say "a *fine* rain."

11. Children of Phanes sacrificed before the battle.

κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων = Lat. "singulos pueros" = "each boy singly" (by himself).

ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα = "they *proceeded* to cut the throat (of each), (letting the blood fall) into the mixing bowl," just as they slaughtered the cattle in their sacrifices to the gods.

διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παίδων = "when they had gone completely through (the sacrifice) of all the sons."

ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος = "now drinking *some* of the blood." The genitive here is *partitive.* Compare Sallust's brief but terrible account of the Catilinarian conspirators, who bound themselves by an oath, ratified by drinking blood; and compare Æschylus, *Seven against Thebes:*

> *ταυροσφαγοῦντες ἐς μελάνδετον σάκος,*
> *καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου,*
> *Ἄρη τ' Ἐνυὼ καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον*
> *ὡρκωμότησαν, κ.τ.λ.*

And see Herod. IV. 70.

12. The Egyptians' skulls different from those of the Persians.

καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύνεται τὸ ὀστέον = "and the bone is thickened by being exposed to the sun."

σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς, κ.τ.λ. = "they rear (their heads) in the shade from infancy, being accustomed to wear turbans for caps."

ὑπὸ Ἰνάρω τοῦ Λίβυος. See VII. 7, and also Thucyd. I. 104, 110. Inarus gained his victory about B.C. 460. From this passage it is evident that Herodotus visited the country after the year 460.

13. The Egyptians retreat on Memphis.

οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ = "without any regular order."

ἀνὰ ποταμὸν = "*up* the river." See II. 4, 96, as opp. to *κατὰ ποταμὸν* = "down (the stream) river," I. 194.

τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες = "having torn the crew in pieces, after the fashion of butchers (cutting up meat)." Compare *ἱππηδὸν* = "*after the fashion* of a horse." The suffix *-ηδον* would seem derived from *ὁδὸς* = *a way;* and this is supported by analogy. Compare "like*wise*" from "like-*ways*," "other*wise*" from "other-*ways*," in English; and the corresponding ending *-iter* to adverbs in Latin, from "iter" = "a way," journey; as in "brev*iter*," "celer*iter*," "suav*iter*," &c., the adverb expressing *the way* in which a thing is done, &c.

παρέστησαν = "surrendered." Supply *ἑαυτοὺς*, and see VI. 99, 140.

φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο = "and arranged to pay a tribute."

14. Story of Psammenitus.

ἐπὶ λύμῃ = "with a view to insult him." See II. 121.

ἐπ' ὕδωρ = "*for water.*" So in V. 12: *ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔπεμπον.*

κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας = "over against their fathers." See I. 76, II. 148.

ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ = "in the case of his daughter."

ἀπηλικέστερον = "more advanced in years." The positive form of this word is found in Homer's *Hymn to Ceres*, v. 140:

οἷα γυναικὸς ἀφήλικος ἔργα τέτυκται.

προσαιτέοντα τὴν στρατιὴν = "begging from the army." See Aristoph. *Acharn.* 429.

μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὥστε ἀνακλαίειν. Compare Thucyd. VII. 75: *μείζω ἢ κατὰ δάκρυα πεπονθότος.* "*There* lies a *grief too deep for tears.*" *ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα* = "upon their being *reported, as they were.*"

ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ = "on the threshold of old age." See Homer's *Iliad*, XXII. 60, XXIV. 486, *Odyss.* XV. 246.

15. Psammenitus put to death for treason.

εἰ δὲ καὶ ἠπιστήθη, κ.τ.λ. = "but if he had not been believed to be intermeddling." Observe the force of the negative particle after the negative verb, and see on I. 152.

ὥστε ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς "so as to have the governorship of it." *ὥστε* with the *infinitive mood*, as here, implies a merely *supposed* case (notice the previous ἂν), or a representation of the mind; while with the *indicative* mood, it would imply that the consequence, as a *matter of fact*, really did *take place*. In harmony with this we have in negative sentences the *absolute* negative *οὐκ* with the indicative, and the *conditional* negative *μὴ* with the infinitive, in connexion with *ὥστε*.

καίτοι = "*and yet.*" An adversative particle. Properly = *καὶ* and *τῷ* = "in this respect, too." Always corrective, with an assumption that something is still to be considered, which may *qualify the previous assertion*.

ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἥλω = "for he was convicted of having made the Egyptians revolt." See I. 5.

ἐπάϊστος = *φανερός*. Some would derive it from *ἐπὶ—ἰδεῖν* (for all *to look upon*). See VI. 74, VII. 146.

αἷμα ταύρου. See the *Knights* of Aristoph. 81:

βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν.

16. The body of Amasis burnt by Cambyses.

ποιῆσαι = "to do *without delay.*" (The force of the aorist in *non-indicative* moods, see I. 11.)

καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν = "and to pluck out the hairs." In Rawlinson's *Herodotus* we have the following remark: "This is evidently a Greek statement, and not derived from the Egyptian priests. *There was no hair to pluck out, 'the head and all the body'* of the kings and priests being shaved: the whole story may be doubted." But surely not on such grounds as these, as it is well known that the *nails and hair* of *the body* do grow after death, so that it was more than possible

that there should be "hair to pluck out." With these outrages and this exhumation compare the treatment of Wycliffe's remains by the bigoted Roman Catholics.

ἀντεῖχέ τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέετο = "*continued* to hold out, and did not, in any respect, fall in pieces."

κατακαῦσαι = "*to destroy* it by fire." Observe the *intensive* power of *κατὰ* in composition.

συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένῳ = "it dies off along with that which is being devoured."

μέντοι, properly = "in *this respect* indeed," in this view; *τοι* being equivalent to *τῷ* or *τούτῳ*.

σεμνοῦν = "embellish with magnificence." See I. 95.

17, 18. Projects of Cambyses.

οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης, κ.τ.λ. = "and settled close *upon* the sea, which (lay) south of Libya."

τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα = "having detached a portion of his infantry."

κατόπτας (rare in prose) = usual *κατασκόπους* = Lat. "speculatores" = "spies." *ἐπιτηδεύοντας* = "those taking care to."

καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃ = "and *in addition* to this."

τῷ λόγῳ = "under a *profession* of;" as opp. to *τῷ ἔργῳ* = "*in reality*."

τοιῆδε τις = "some such thing as the following."

τοὺς ἐν τέλεϊ = "those in *power*."

19. The Phœnicians refuse to fight against Carthage.

οὐκ ἂν ποιέειν = "*could not possibly* do." Compare the words of Themistocles at Artemisium in VIII. 22: *ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι*, and see Thucyd. I. 24.

Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων = "and now that the Phœnicians were *actually* averse to it." Observe the *positive* force of *οὐκ* with a participle.

δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων = "*completely* escaped slavery at *the hands* of the Persians." *διὰ* in composition has the *intensive* force of the Lat. "*per*" in composition.

βίην οὐκ ἐδικαίου, κ.τ.λ. = "for Cambyses did not think it right to *bring force to bear* upon the Phœnicians, and his naval armament *entirely* depended on the Phœnicians."

20. Cambyses sends presents to the Ethiopians.

πορφύρεόν τε εἷμα = "a cloak (*outer* garment) of a dark and brilliant hue." Homer applies *πορφύρεος* to the billows of the sea, and Horace speaks of "*purpureis* ales oloribus," and St Mark and John call the robe put on our Saviour *πορφύραν*, which St Luke calls *λαμπράν*. This dye was from Tyre.

χρύσεον στρεπτὸν = "a golden collar." Lat. "torques" = *στρεπτός*.

μύρου ἀλάβαστρον (better *ἀλάβαστον*) = "an alabaster *box* of perfume." Compare Horace's "Nardi parvus onyx," *Od.* XII. 17, and St Matthew's Gospel, xxvi. 7. It came from a quarry near Thebes in Egypt.

μέγιστοι = "*tallest*." See Chap. 114, and Isaiah xlv. 14: "The labour of Egypt, and the merchandize of *Ethiopia*, and of the *Sabæans*, *men of stature*, shall come over to thee."

κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος = "in proportion to *their size*."

21. Story of the Ethiopian king.

διδοῖ = "presents," from *διδόω*.

προτιμῶν πολλοῦ ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος γενέσθαι = "setting much value on becoming a friend to me." Here we have the genitive of *price* or *value*; Lat. "*magni* æstimans."

τόξον τόδε διδόντες. From this circumstance Bruce supposed that the Macrobians were a tribe of the *Shangallas*, dwelling in the gold countries on both sides of the Nile, to the north of Fazuhla.

μέχρι δὲ τούτου—supply *χρόνου*—"up to this *time*."

θεοῖσι εἰδέναι χάριν, κ.τ.λ. = "to be thankful to the gods, who do not turn the attention of the children of the Ethiopians to the acquisition of other land in addition to their own."

Αἰθιόπων. The name is probably *Semitic*; and if indigenous, certainly so, since the Ethiopian language is pure Semitic. The Abyssinians to this day call themselves *Itiopjawan*. The Greek geographers however, derived the name from *αἴθω* ("to burn") and *ὤψ* (the face), and applied it to all the *sun-burnt, dark-complexioned races* above Egypt.

22. Reception of the messengers of Cambyses by the Ethiopians.

τοῖσι ἥκουσι = "to those who *had come* and were present." This verb always implies a *past* as well as present.

δεύτερα δέ, τὸν χρυσοῦν, κ.τ.λ. = "in the second place he proceeded to ask about the golden collar of *wreathed* work;" and compare Exodus xxviii. 14, "and two *chains* of pure *gold* at the ends; of *wreathen* work shalt thou make them, and fasten the *wreathen chains* to the ouches."

ὑπερησθεὶς = "having been *above* (measure) delighted."

χρόνον ὀκόσον μακρότατον = "and the extent of the time, at the farthest, *during which*" (acc. of duration).

εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον, φράζων = "unless they made *up* for it by *that* drink, pointing out the wine to the Ichthyophagi."

τοῦτο γὰρ ἑωυτοὺς ὑπὸ Περσέων ἑσσοῦσθαι = "for (they confessed) that this *is the thing in which* they were surpassed by the Persians." Observe that many verbs take this quasi-cognate construction with the

accusative of the *neuter pronoun*, as here. It is rare with the *passive* compared with the *active;* so we have παραβαίνω τόδε = "*this* here is the transgression I commit." χρῶμαι τόδε = "*this* is the use I make of it." ἐκφοβῶ τόδε = "*this* is the *startling* terror I produce," κ.τ.λ.

23. How long the Ethiopians live.

ἔτεα μὲν ἐς εἰκοσι, κ.τ.λ. = "*the majority* of them arrive at 120 years (of age), and some surpass even this (period)."

ὄζειν—ἴων = "and that it smells of violets." That of which anything smells or breathes is put into the genitive after the verbs ὄζειν, πνέειν. Properly it is the *causal* genitive.

τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ. = "now if this water is really at all of that character which it is said to be by them, probably they are long-lived for this reason, because of their *invariable* use of this (water)."

θεησάμενοι = "having looked upon *long* and with *admiration*." Compare the Lat. "*specto*" and its compounds, *contrasted* with "*specio*" and its compounds. (The verbs being frequentative and *intensive*.)

24. The marvellous things in their country.

ἐξ ὑέλου. Some say by this is meant "amber;" some, "fossil salt;" some, "crystal;" some, "*glass;*" and some, "*alabaster.*"

ἐξομοιεῦντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατὸν = "making it as *completely* like the natural form as possible."

καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερὰ = "and it has all its parts exposed to view just as a dead body has," i.e. not like the mummy which has only the *front* exposed to view, the back being hidden by the *mummy case.*

πάντων τε ἀπαρχόμενοι = "offering to it the first-fruits of all things." οἱ μάλιστα προσήκοντες = "those who most of all belonged to him," i.e. his nearest relatives.

25. Cambyses invades the Ethiopians.

ὀργὴν ποιησάμενος = "having considered it (a proper subject of) anger," i.e. having indulged his feeling of anger. Compare VII. 105, and Thuc. IV. 224. So we have generally in Herodotus the *middle voice* with ποιέω when thus used periphrastically, as in other authors: thus in Herod. θῶυμα ποιεύμενοι, λήθην ποιεύμενος, καταστροφὴν ἐποιήσατο; and akin to these we have δεινὸν ποιεῖσθαι, μέγα, and συμφορὴν ποιεῖσθαι. In other authors we have πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι for πολεμεῖν, ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖσθαι = ἐξέτασαι, and ἀναβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι = ἀναβάλλεσθαι.

παραγγείλας = "having sent orders throughout (the country) for." Properly a *military term* to send orders *along a line* of soldiers.

οὔτε λόγον ἑωυτῷ δοὺς = "neither having given himself consideration," i.e. time to consider.

οἷα δὲ ἐμμανὴς, κ.τ.λ. = "inasmuch as he was actually mad, and not master of his senses." This is not a mere pleonasm, it is an unfolding

in detail of his madness, in its *practical* effect. So in Soph. *Antig.* 498, we have

λυσσῶσαν αὐτὴν, οὐδ' ἐπήβολον φρενῶν.

And also see V. 42, III. 34, IX. 54; Soph. *Elect.* 474.

ὑπομένειν = "to stay as a *reserve.*" Compare ὑπολείπω = "to leave as a *reserve.*"

ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς πέντε μυριάδας = "he detached from his army as much as fifty thousand men."

διεληλυθέναι = Lat. "pervenisse," "gone through," i.e. completed.

αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς, κ.τ.λ. = "immediately all they had of provision, connected therewith, failed them at last," i.e. *every sort of provisions* failed them. So in I. 160, τὰ τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα; III. 66, τὰ ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα εἶχον.

ἐγνωσιμάχεε = "he had proceeded to oppose his (former) opinion."

νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον, κ.τ.λ. = "but in *his present* circumstances he made no account of the matter, and he proceeded to advance farther."

διέζωον = "continued to *struggle through* existence."

ἐκ δεκάδος, κ.τ.λ. = "having drawn by lot one of their number out of every ten."

δείσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην = "horrified at their devouring each other."

οὕτω ἔπρηξε = "fared thus" (disastrously). κακῶς is here omitted. See IV. 77, and Thuc. VII. 24.

26. The detachment reaches the Oasis, and afterwards is lost in the sands.

ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανεροί εἰσι, κ.τ.λ. = "it is *evident* that they arrived at the city of Oasis."

Σάμιοι. Dahlmann thinks Herodotus is here deceived by a similarity of names, like that which induced the Greeks on the coasts of the Euxine to call the national god of the Getæ (Zamolxis) a *Samian.* It is not in the nature of things at that time to suppose that Greeks from Samos would have conducted a colony to this place more than 300 miles from a coast.

καὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι = "and in such a manner as this they were lost sight of." The story is very improbable, according to most authorities.

27. Cambyses annoyed at the festivities of the Egyptians.

Ἔπαφον. Wilkinson believes this to be a misapplication of the name *Apophis*, the giant serpent, and the emblem of sin. Plutarch thought Apis the image of the soul of Osiris, and the sacred emblem of that god.

ἦσαν ἐν θαλίῃσι = "were feasting and enjoying themselves." So Homer's *Odys.* XI. 603, τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς.

διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ = "after a *long* interval of time."

ἐπεὰν φανῇ = "*whenever* he appears." Here *ἂν* discharges the function of the Latin -cunque = "ever;" and to harmonize with this *indefinite* notion we have the *conjunctive* (subjunctive) mood used.

28. Apis described.

οὐ λήσειν ἔφη αὐτὸν = "he said it should not escape his notice."

οἱ μὲν δὴ μετήϊσαν ἄξοντες = "these now went away to bring him."

κατίσχειν = "*over-powers*" or "*over-shadows*" her, i.e. the cow.

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νώτου, αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον = "but over the surface of his back an eagle is figured." The dative would mark a particular point "*upon* his back."

ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ κάνθαρον. Pliny says:

"Nodus *sub linguâ*, quem *cantharum* appellant."

29. The sacrilegious acts of Cambyses.

ὑπομαργότερος = "mad*dish*." Observe the qualifying force of *ὑπὸ*, like the Latin "sub." See Chap. 145, and VI. 75. The positive with its cognates is found in Homer.

σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον = "having drawn *his* dagger." Observe generally the *possessive* force of the article, as here, with a *middle* verb.

οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε = "ye shall not with impunity make me your laughing-stock."

30. The madness of Cambyses increases.

Σμέρδιν. It is said his true name was *Bardis.* Compare the Mardus of Æschylus (*Persæ*, 780). The Σ is merely euphonic, as in *σμικρὸς, σμύρνα, κ.τ.λ.*

μοῦνος Περσέων = "he was the *only one* of the Persians, who." Compare the use of the Lat. "*solus*" *with a verb.*

τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψαύσειε = "touched the heaven with his head." Either the genitive after a verb of *touching*, or a *partitive genitive.* The expression bocame a proverb. So Horace, I. *Ode:*

"Sublimi *feriam sidera* vertice."

And Ovid, *Met.* VII. 61:

"Et vertice sidera tangam."

οἱ μὲν λέγουσι, ἐπ' ἄγρην, κ.τ.λ. = "some say that (Prexaspes) took him (Smerdis) out to a hunt, (and then killed him), while others say that he brought him to the Erythræan Sea, and plunged him into its depths."

31. Incest of Cambyses.

καὶ ἦν οἱ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεή = "and was his sister by both (parents)."

ἐς οὗ (supply *χρόνου*) *ἀποθάνωσι, ἤ σφι, κ.τ.λ.* = "until this time (they continue judges), until they die off, or some unjust action is brought home to them."

ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ (see I. 2) = "they *proceeded* to give him an *evasive* answer." In Herodotus the word is just in its transition state, as it approaches its fully developed Attic force of "*playing a part*," "acting an *assumed* character." Compare *ὑποφέρειν*, Xenoph. *Hel.* IV. 72, and *ὑφορμισάμενοι*, Thuc. II. 83, with Grote's valuable note to p. 267, Vol. VI. of *History of Greece*.

παρεξεῦρον ἄλλον νόμον = "they found out *along with* it another law, which helped any (king) who was resolved to marry his own sister."

τὴν ἐρωμένην. Generally supposed to be *Atossa*.

32. Two accounts of his sister's death.

ἀμφὶ...τῷ θανάτῳ = "about the death." So in VI. 62; and compare Homer's *Iliad*, V. 157:

τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.

So common people use "about" almost constantly for "concerning."

νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος = "now while the whelp was *being* overcome." Observe the force of the *present* participle.

παραγενέσθαι οἱ = "took its *stand by it*."

ἐπικρατῆσαι = "*in the end* mastered (the lion's) cub."

33. Cambyses subject to epilepsy.

ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκηΐους, κ.τ.λ. = "*these then are the acts of downright madness* which Cambyses committed against those of his own family." See this construction explained in III. 22.

τὴν ἱρήν. This sacred disease is supposed to be epilepsy, which was considered as a judgment *direct from heaven*. The Tuscans now call it "mal benedetto."

οὐ νύν τοι, κ.τ.λ. = "it is not, be assured, an unlikely thing for the senses to be unsound, as long as the body is diseased with a violent disease." Compare the Lat. proverb, "mens sana in corpore sano."

νοῦσον νοσέοντος, the accusative of the *cognate* word; a construction more common in Greek than in most other languages.

34. Brutal conduct of Cambyses to others.

τάδε δ' ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους, κ.τ.λ. See note at the beginning of the previous chapter.

καὶ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὗτος = "and this one was *wont* to carry his messages." ~~*φορέω*, frequentative of *φέρω*,~~ as "gesto" of "gero;" hence when used of *clothes* both mean "to wear."

παραφρονέειν = "is *beside* himself," i.e. mad.

πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι Κῦρον = "to *estimate* him in comparison with his father Cyrus." Blakesley would place *τελέσαι* last, and render it "turned out."

καὶ προσεκτῆσθαι, κ.τ.λ. = "and besides had gained the possession of Egypt and the sea."

35. Prexaspes' son murdered.

σὺ νῦν μάθε = "do thou learn *forthwith*." Observe here the force of the aorist, harmonising with *νῦν*.

βαλὼν τύχοιμι μέσης τῆς καρδίης = "I should shoot and hit (him) in the middle of his heart." The genitive is here *local:* for the *partial* attribute, see on II. 47.

Πέρσαι φανέονται λέγοντες οὐδὲν = "it will be *evident* that the Persians *actually* speak to no purpose." The infinitive *λέγειν* would mean, "they *seem to* speak."

οὕτως ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύοντα = "shooting with so good an aim."

δέσποτα, οὐδ' ἂν, κ.τ.λ. = "my Lord, I could not possibly fancy that even a god could have possibly shot so well." Observe the double *ἂν* and its double force.

ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν = "head *downwards*." Compare Virgil's "volvitur *in caput*;" in both cases it is literally = "*upon* his head." With the *whole* sentence compare VII. 14.

36. Cambyses intends killing Crœsus.

μὴ πάντα ἐπίτρεπε = "do not *turn* every thing *over to*," i. e. extend.

ἡλικίῃ = "to the *impetuosity* of youth." See VII. 18.

ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε = "keep a *close* hold upon thyself, and keep *thyself down*." *ἴσχω* is the frequentative and intensive form of *ἔχω*.

ἐπεί τοι καὶ πάλαι, κ.τ.λ. = "since, be assured, even for a long time I have been wanting to lay hold upon some pretext against thee." *καὶ πάλαι* = Lat. "jam pridem."

τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ = "his *turn*," i. e. his *character:* in many ways *τρόπος* is an exact equivalent to our "turn."

κατακρύπτουσι = "conceal him *in safety*." Compare *καταφεύγω*.

καταχρῆσθαι = "use him up," i. e. make away with him. Compare the Lat. "*conficere*," and *διαπράττειν* occasionally.

ἐκείνους μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας, κ.τ.λ. = "however that those who had preserved (him) should not do their work for nothing, and that he should kill them." See V. 105.

37, 38. Cambyses insults publicly the religion of the Egyptians.

καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε = "and he much ridiculed the image." The *dative* here is peculiar to Herodotus; other authors have the *genitive*.

ἐμφερέστατον, κ.τ.λ. = "*bearing* a very close resemblance to the

Phœnician Pataeci." These were the tutelary Gods of the Phœnicians, whose images, resembling dwarfs or pigmies in size, they used to place at the prows of their vessels. See Creuzer's *Symbols*, Vol. I. p. 530.

τῶν Καβείρων. See Appendix I. (at the end of these notes).

ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἂν χρήματι βουλοίατο = "*on condition* of receiving what sum would they be willing to eat up their fathers when dead." Observe the *possessive* force of the article here, as usual, with a *middle verb:* and also that when we say "eat *up,*" the Greeks speak of eating *down* (as in *καταφάγω, κατεσθίω, κατασιτέεσθαι*), which is more *natural* and philosophical.

ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαίατ' ἂν = "on condition of receiving what sum they would be likely to *undertake.*"

εὐφημέειν = "to observe a religious silence," "favere linguâ" in Latin.

νόμον πάντων βασιλέα = "that *custom* rules everything." Yet Pindar did not, it is clear, use *νόμος* in this sense, but rather in the sense of a *law of nature,* or *fate,* ruling both gods and men. The fragment as restored by Bœckh is as follows:

κατὰ φύσιν
νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς
θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
ἄγει δικαιῶν τὸ βαιότατον
ὑπερτάτᾳ χειρί.

39. Polycrates, tyrant of Samos.

ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστὰς = "who rose up in rebellion, and had *seized upon* Samos."

καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην, κ.τ.λ. = "and they were noised abroad both up and down Ionia and the rest of Greece."

ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι = "he might *direct* his march."

ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἦγε, κ.τ.λ. = "now he continued to plunder all without making any one an exception." See on I. 166.

ἀποδιδοὺς τὰ ἔλαβε = "*restoring* those things *which* he took."

ἐν δὲ—supply *αὐτοῖς* = "and amongst them."

ἐν Σάμῳ = the *city so called,* which was the capital of the island Samos; the chief towns gave their names to the islands in the Ægean.

40. The advice of his ally Amasis to Polycrates.

καὶ κως τὸν Ἄμασιν, κ.τ.λ. = "and it happened that the great good fortune of Polycrates did not escape the notice of Amasis, but was a source of continual anxiety to him."

φθονερόν. See I. 32, and compare Horace, *Od.* III. 29:

"Fortuna sævo læta negotio et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna."

This *notion* of the jealousy of the Deity is found in *Livy* as well as in Herodotus. See v. 21. "M. Furius Camillus dicitur precatus esse, ut si cui Deorum hominumque nimia sua *fortuna* populique Romani videretur, ut *eam invidiam lenire suo privato incommodo*, quam minimo publico populi Romani liceret." And again, x. 13: "Q. Fabius Maximus se dicebat *Fortunam ipsam vereri*, ne cui Deorum nimia jam in se, et constantior, quam velint humanæ res, videatur."

καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν, κ.τ.λ. = "and thus he should vary his course of life, faring at one time well, and at another time ill, rather than he should have invariable prosperity"

φροντίσας, ἀπόβαλε. Observe the *immediate* force of these aorists.

41. Polycrates endeavours to propitiate the jealousy of the God.

ὥς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο Ἄμασις = "that Amasis had given him a good *suggestion*."

σφρηγὶς χρυσόδετος = "a seal-ring, *set in* gold."

Σαμίου. The workmen of this island seem to have been very distinguished. See I. 51, III. 60, IV. 88, 152, and see Arist. *Pol.* V. IX. 4.

ἀναγαγεῖν, κ.τ.λ. = "to put out into the *deep sea*."

περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγῖδα = "having taken off his ring *from around* (his finger)."

συμφορῇ ἐχρῆτο = "he *gave expression* to his affliction," but *συμφορὴν ἐποιέετο* = "he *considered* it as an affliction."

42. The ring of Polycrates found in a fish.

τόνδε ἑλὼν = "having caught this here (fish)," probably holding it up to view at the same time.

καίπερ γε ἐὼν ἀποχειροβίωτος = "Aye, although I am actually one who gains a living by the work of my own hands."

καὶ χάρις διπλέη = "and the *compliment* is two-fold." Compare the Lat. "gratia," which suits *most* of the senses of *χάρις*.

μέγα ποιεύμενος ταῦτα = "considering this as a great deed." Compare with this story the opening part of Juvenal's 4th Satire.

τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσῆλθε, κ.τ.λ. = "now as it occurred to him that the circumstance was providential."

γράφει ἐς βιβλίον, κ.τ.λ. = "he enters into a book all that he had done, and what things had come down upon him; and having thus entered them, he sent the book on to Egypt."

ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε. Blakesley thinks that the *literal* meaning would be, "*he put on it* the address—'to Egypt,'" and that this probably was the origin of the idiom, and quotes v. 95, *ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μυτιλήνην*, to *confirm* this view. We cannot but think this an illustration unfortunately too full of the light of modern times, with its post-office arrangements, "addresses," &c. to suit such an interpretation; indeed, the word

ἐπιτίθημι is not used in Greek to denote *writing addresses, or writing anything else on things;* had Herodotus meant such a thing, ἐπιγράφω, or some such word, would have been the word used. (See I. 51, and III. 88.) We are inclined to think that the real origin of the idiom may be more safely found in the notion of *laying a thing upon one,* in the sense of giving a *commission* or *order* to any one to do something; hence, "to give in charge, (as here, to carry down) into Egypt." Compare also ἐπιστέλλω.

43. Amasis gives up the alliance with Polycrates.

διαλύεσθαι τὴν ξεινίην = "quite to put an end to the friendly relation he had with him." Grote (Vol. IV. p. 323) thinks "it was *Polycrates,* who, with characteristic faithlessness, broke off his friendship with Amasis, finding it suitable to his policy to cultivate the alliance of Cambyses." See III. 44.

44. Polycrates sends some troublesome citizens to Cambyses.

ἐπικαλεσαμένων = "having called them *to their aid.*" Compare the *similar* force of ἐπάγεσθαι.

ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον = "*against* Egypt." Observe here the *usual* force of the *local* accusative after ἐπί. So in Thuc. VI. 1, ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες = "having sailed against Sicily."

ἐπιλέξας = "having chosen *with a view to* (this purpose)."

τριήρεσι. See Thuc. I. 13 and 14.

45. The banished Samians return, and form an alliance with Sparta.

Καρπάθῳ = (near the island) "Carpathus," now *Scarpanto,* between Crete and Rhodes, on the way to Egypt.

καταπλέουσι = "and *sail home.*"

παραστήσασθαι = "to bring over to their side," i.e. to their own terms of peace.

εἶχε ἑτοίμους = "had them *at hand.*" προδιδῶσι = "go over to."

αὐτοῖσι νεωσοίκοισι = "ship-sheds *and all.*" See III. 126, VI. 32, 92.

46. The Spartan brevity of speech illustrated.

καταστάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας = "having been admitted to an audience with the magistrates." Compare below, πρώτῃ καταστάσει.

ἔλεγον πολλά, κ.τ.λ. = "proceeded to speak at length, inasmuch as they were in very great want."

ὑπεκρίναντο = "gave them an *evasive* answer." Such is the force of ὑπό here: see note on I. 2, and see III. 31.

τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα, κ.τ.λ. Compare Thuc. I. 86.

τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι = "that they had done a work *of supererogation in* (making use of that word) θύλακος (bag)."

47. The Spartan account of the expedition to Samos.

εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες = "paying off acts of kindness." Compare the Lat. "exsolvo." This aid was probably given to the Lacedæmonians by the Samians in the second Messenian War. See Müller's *Dorians*, Vol. I. p. 173.

ἢ τὸν κρητῆρα. See its description in I. 70.

ζῴων ἐνυφασμένων συχνῶν = "and many figures woven in."

εἰρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου = "wool (gathered) from a tree," i.e. *cotton*. Compare the German term for cotton—tree-wool—Baum-wollen.

48. The Corinthians interfere.

συνεπελάβοντο = "seized upon and took part in this expedition."

ὕβρισμα = "an *act* of outrage," just as ἀδίκημα = "an *act* of injustice;" πρᾶγμα = "an *act*;" ποίημα = "a *thing composed*."

κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητῆρος. See I. 70. Sardis was taken, according to Clinton, B.C. 546, and the Spartan War against Polycrates, B.C. 525.

Ἀρτέμιδος. This *temple* was called Ταυροπόλιον, because in Samos, as in Chios, the goddess was worshipped under the title of Ταυροπόλος, as her brother was under that of Καπροφόνος.

σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐργόντων, κ.τ.λ. See a like case mentioned by Thucydides, I. 126 and 13.

τρωκτὰ σησάμου τε καὶ μέλιτος = "cakes of sesamum and honey."

49. Feud between Corinth and Corcyra.

ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον, B. C. 734, according to Clinton.

διάφοροι ἐόντες ἑωυτοῖσι = "being actually at variance with each other."

ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι = "the Corinthians continued to remember the wrong (done them) even to the last against the Samians."

πρότεροι ἦρξαν = "were the *first to* begin." See Thuc. I. 25.

50. Career of Periander after the murder of his wife.

Μέλισσαν. Her real name was Lyside. Melissa = "the Bee," was her *pet* name, either for her *sweet* temper, or *industry*. προπέμπων αὐτοὺς = "escorting them," going onwards part of the way with them.

οὔτε προσδιελέγετο = "he did not reply to him *in return*."

πέρι θυμῷ ἐχόμενος = "taking it *very* much to heart." Compare Homer's *Iliad*, XIII. 119, νεμεσσῶμαι πέρι κῆρι, and XXI.. 70, ἀλύσσοντες πέρι θυμῷ.

51. Periander expels his son Lycophron from his house.

ἅτε οὐ νόῳ λαβὼν, οὐκ ἐμέμνητο = "he did not make mention (of that word), inasmuch as he had not comprehended it," literally, he had not *taken* it *into his mind*, and *seized* or *grasped* its meaning.

καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδὲν = "and wishing not to show any indulgence, from tenderness," literally, "to *give in*, from *softness*." See III. 105, and Aristophanes, *Plut.* 488, *μαλακὸν δ' ἐνδώσετε μηδέν*.

ἀπηγόρευε μή μιν δέκεσθαι = "he forbade their receiving him." See on I. 152. Compare Sophocles (*Œd. Tyr.* 236):

> *τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπαυδῶ, τοῦτον, ὅστις ἐστί, γῆς*
> *τῆσδ', ἧς ἐγὼ κράτη τε καὶ θρόνους νέμω,*
> *μήτ' εἰσδέχεσθαι, μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινά, κ.τ.λ.*

52. Periander feels for his banished son.

κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο = "caused a proclamation to be made." See on I. 21, and III. 25.

ἱρὴν ζημίην = "a sacred fine." Müller (*Dorians*, Vol. I. p. 317) states that "*sacred fines*" were paid to Apollo as a *revenging* and *punishing* God.

ὅσην δὴ εἴπας = "having mentioned the amount, whatever it was."

δέκεσθαι ἤθελε = "*would* receive him."

ἐκυλινδέετο = "continued rolling or *roving* about." See, however, Buttmann, *Lexil.* on *κυλινδεῖν*, from which it only differs in sound.

ὑπεὶς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς = "now *relaxing* from his anger."

Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος. See *Iliad*, II. 570, where it is called *ἀφνειόν τε Κόρινθον*, and Pindar, *Olymp.* XIII. 4, *τὰν ὀλβίαν Κόρινθον*. Its advantageous situation is well described by Thuc. I. 13.

ὀργῇ χρεώμενος, κ.τ.λ. = "*exhibiting* angry feelings toward that one to whom least of all you should exhibit them."

αὐτός σφε ἐξεργασάμην = "I myself *made away* with her." Compare the Latin "conficere."

ὅσῳ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτείρεσθαι = "by how much it is better to be *envied* than to be *pitied*." Pindar (1 *Pyth.* 85) uses the same proverbial sentiment,

> *κρέσσων γὰρ οἰκτιρμοῦ φθόνος.*

ἄπιθι = "*begone*." Observe that the English here is the *exact* equivalent of the aoristic force of this verb. See on I. 11.

53. Periander endeavours to bring back Lycophron to Corinth.

παρηβήκεε = "was past and beyond the *prime* of life," from *παρὰ* and *ἥβη*. See Thuc. II. 44, *ὅσοι δ' αὖ παραβήκατε*.

τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν = "to overlook and manage the affairs (of the state)." Supply *τῆς πόλεως*.

οὐκ ἐνεώρα = "did not see *anything in him*," i.e. any *capacity* for government. Schweighæuser thus supplies the evident ellipsis, *οὐκ ἐνεώρα αὐτὸν δυνατὸν ὄντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπορᾶν*.

ἀλλά οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος = "nay, he seemed without doubt

to be *rather* stupid." ὢν here would have implied that he *proved himself to be;* observe also the *qualifying* force of the comparative degree here, and farther, that Homer (*Iliad,* XI. 559) applies the epithet νωθὴς to an *ass,* exactly as our "*stupid*" is generally so applied.

οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ἠξίωσε = "deemed him worthy *not even* of an inquiry."

ἐς ἄλλους πεσέειν = "should *fall upon* others."

φιλοτιμίη, κτῆμα σκαιὸν = "obstinacy is an unfortunate acquisition."

μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ = "do not cure misfortune with misfortune." Compare Soph. *Ajax,* 360,

—μὴ κακὸν κακῷ διδοὺς,
ἄκος πλέον τὸ πῆμα τῆς ἄτης τίθει.

τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα = "those (arguments) which were most likely to *induce him.*"

54, 55. The Spartans attack Samos.

προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος = "having attacked the wall," or what is better and more literal = "having made a *dash at* the wall."

χειρὶ πολλῇ = "considerable *band,*" just like Lat. "multâ *manu.*"

ἐν Πιτάνῃ. Pitana was one of the δῆμοι or κῶμαι of which Sparta was composed, and during the period of Macedonian sovereignty was included within its walls. See Thuc. I. 10, and Müller's *Dorians,* II. p. 47, and Leeke's *Morea,* Vol. I. p. 176.

56. The Lacedæmonians return home from Samos.

κόψαντα = "having coined or stamped." Compare Lat. "*cudo,*" from "*cædo.*"

Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέες. The Spartans were always proud of being styled *Dorians,* while they at times upbraided the Athenians with being *Ionians.* Perhaps here the term Dorian is used to mark *distinctively* that this was the *first* expedition made into *Asia* from Lacedæmon *after* the *Dorian* Conquest. Here Rawlinson well observes, "These words are emphatic. They mark the place which this expedition occupies in the mind of Herodotus. It is an aggression of the Greeks upon *Asia,* and therefore a passage in the history of the great quarrel between Persia and Greece, for all Asia is the king's" (I. 4). Indeed, it is probable that Polycrates, though really independent, was in *nominal* subjection to Persia. This is implied both in the statement (I. 169), that "the Ionians of the islands gave themselves up to Cyrus," and on the request of Polycrates (III. 44), that Cambyses "would not omit to ask aid from Samos." Cambyses was only collecting troops from his *subjects.*

57. The Samian exiles go to Siphnus.

Σίφνον, now "*Siphanto,*" one of the Cyclades; according to Herod. (VIII. 48), it was colonized by *Ionians* from Athens.

ὁμοῖα τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοισι. See on III. 8.

φράσσασθαι = "to take *heed against*." The "wooden regiment" and "red herald" apply to *crews* of *the wooden* ships, whose prows were *painted red*.

58. They impose a heavy tax on the Siphnians.

πρὸς τὴν Σίφνον προσίσχον = "*put in* at Siphnus."

μιλτηλιφέες = the Homeric epithets μιλτοπάρηος and φοινικοπάρηος. See *Iliad*, II. 637; *Od.* IX. 123, XI. 124.

φυλάξασθαι = "to *guard itself against*" (i.e. to beware of).

ἔπρηξαν = "exacted from them."

59. They purchase the island Hydria.

Ὑδρέην. This city was situated between the Argolic and Saronic Gulfs, almost opposite to Hermione, now called "*Hydria*."

παρακατέθεντο = "gave as a *deposit*."

Κυδωνίην. Homer, *Od.* XIX. 176, mentions the Cydonians as one of the *clans* of Crete, and as indigenous, αὐτόχθονες.

Δικτύνης. Epithet of Diana, as Goddess of the chace; otherwise called *Britomartis*, the inventress of hunting and sports.

ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες = "cherishing a grudge against." See VI. 73, 133, and IX. 110.

60. Three great works in Samos.

τούτου ὄρυγμα, κ.τ.λ. = "and of this (hill) there is a tunnel, begun at its base, and carried right through it, with openings at each side."

νηὸς μέγιστος, i.e. of Juno or Hera.

ἐπιχώριος = "a native," one who *happened* to be born *upon the spot* (ἐπὶ χωρίῳ). Observe as a general rule adjectives ending in -ιος (= English "-ly,") mark an *accidental* quality, as οὐράνιος = "that which *happens* to belong to, or come from *heaven*," &c.

61. Revolt of the Magians against Cambyses.

περὶ Αἴγυπτον = "in and about Egypt."

μελεδωνὸν = ἐπίτροπον, ἐπιμελητήν.

Σμέρδιν. The pretender's real name was *Gomates*, according to the Behistun inscription (see Rawlinson and Blakesley), corrupted into *Comatis* by Trogus Pompeius. (See Appendix II.)

62. Cambyses at Agbatana in Syria.

τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι. According to Pliny this lay on Mount Carmel. Blakesley makes it Hamath (2 Kings xvii.) on the Orontes. Hyde makes it *Batanæa*, the *Basan* of the Jews, embracing a greater part of Galilee.

τό τοι προσέθηκα πρῆγμα = "the deed which I laid upon thee (to do)."

οὐ μή τι τοι, κ.τ.λ. = "be assured, that from him at least, there shall spring up, under no circumstance whatever, any thing tending to a revolution more than before." See IV. 127. Compare "res *novæ*" in Lat. in the sense of "*revolution*," and observe the *comprehensive* negative involved in *οὐ μή*; *οὐκ* = *not, actually*, as a *positive* fact; *μή* = *not, possibly*, as a *supposed* fact, and when combined = not either positively, probably or possibly, i.e. under no circumstance *whatever* either *actual* or *conceivable*.

63. Prexaspes questions the herald from Smerdis.

ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος = "*taking his stand upon* the name of that Smerdis." See VI. 65, IX. 95, VI. 61, and compare the similar metaphor in *ἐπ' ἐλπίδος ὀχεῖσθαι*.

64. The dream of Cambyses fulfilled.

ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν = "he proceeded to weep aloud for Smerdis."

περιημεκτήσας. See on I. 44.

ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει = "the cap of the scabbard falls off," leaving the *point* of the sword thus bare.

τρωματισθεὶς δὲ, κ.τ.λ. = "and having been wounded just in the place where he himself struck Apis the God of the Egyptians, when he thought he was mortally struck." With *καιρίῃ* supply *πληγῇ*, "a *mortal* blow." See *Agam.* of Æschylus, v. 1292, 3.

συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον = "having put together (the sense of) the oracular decree," i.e. having comprehended it. Bähr quotes a similar story of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, who died, as he says, at Zante, on his way to Jerusalem. He died not at Zante, but at Cape Ather, in Cephallenia, in his progress against the Greek Empire. See Gibbon, Vol. VII. p. 247. Anna Comnena speaks of his death as taking place at a Jerusalem in Ithaca. See the note on Malone's Shakespeare, Henry IV. Part II. Act IV. sc. 4.

"It hath been prophesied to me many years,
I should not die but in *Jerusalem*,
Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land:
But bear me to that chamber; there I'll lie:
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die."

65. The dying confession of Cambyses.

τοσαῦτα. Supply *ἔλεγε*, or better *ἔλεξε*.

καταλελάβηκέ με. Supply *ἀνάγκη* = "a necessity has *overpowered* me," literally, "come down upon me and seized me."

ἔκρυπτον = "I *continued* to *keep* concealed." *ἐκφῆναι* = "to declare forth without *any delay*." Observe the respective forces of the Imperfect and Aorist tenses in the same sentence.

ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα = "I acted with *more despatch* than wisdom."

ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπηΐῃ φύσει, κ.τ.λ. = "for, *as it turns out*, it was not in the nature of man to avert that which was doomed to happen."

ἐπιλεξάμενος = "having taken into *further* consideration."

ὑπαραιρημένου = "having been *secretly* taken off" by death.

οὐδὲν δέον = "to no purpose" = *μάτην* (chap. 44).

οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι, κ.τ.λ. = "and ye have the Magians the lords of your palace." The dative here is that of the party most *interested*. Compare "mihi," "tibi," and so forth in Latin.

τὰ ἐναντία τούτοισι ἀρέομαι. See Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 277,

> *καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς μὴ δρῶσιν εὔχομαι θεοὺς*
> *μήτ' ἄροτον αὐτοῖς γῆν ἀνιέναι τινὰ,*
> *μήτ' οὖν γυναικῶν παῖδας.*

And further, compare the curses of King Lear in Shakespeare.

66. The duration of Cambyses' reign.

πάντες τά τε, κ.τ.λ. = "and all rent their garments, and all that belonged to *their* (garments) to very shreds." See III. 25, and VIII. 99, and Æsch. *Persæ*, 1060.

ἀπήνεικε = "*carried off*," exactly = Lat. "*abstulit*" of death.

ἠπιστέατο = "they took it for *granted*."

ἐκπολεμωθῇ = "might soon be set *at variance*."

67. The Magian usurpation lasts for seven months.

ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου, κ.τ.λ. = "taking *his stand* on having the same name as Smerdis the son of Cyrus."

τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους, κ.τ.λ. = "that remained, as an addition to complete the eight years of Cambyses."

διαπέμψας = "having sent in *different* directions."

ἀτελήΐην εἶναι στρατηΐης, κ.τ.λ. = "freedom from service and tribute during three years."

ἐνιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν = "on establishing himself in the government."

68, 69. Otanes discovers the deceit of Smerdis.

ἐγένετο κατάδηλος = "he became completely *exposed*."

Ὀτάνης. The Behistun inscription gives the names of the conspirators who slew the Magian pretender *very nearly* as Herodotus has done; yet Otanes (*Utana*) is made the son, *not* of *Pharnaspes*, but Socres (Thukra).

πρῶτος ὑπόπτευσε = "was the first to *suspect*." Compare the Lat. "suspicari," (frequentative of suspicion) = "to keep *looking under*," and so to *suspect*.

καὶ ταύτῃ τε συνοίκεε. See 2 Samuel xvi. 20.

τὰ ὦτα ἀπέτεμε. See the remarkable expression of Tacitus (*Ann.*

XII. 14), "*Auribus decisis* vivere jubet," a practice not yet given up by the Turkish authorities of the present day.

ἐν περιτροπῇ = "as their turn *comes round*" (they are wont to go), and compare our word "*rotation*." See Esther iii. 11—14 and ii. 12.

70. Seven of the nobles conspire against Smerdis.

Ἀσπαθίνην, not mentioned in the Behistun inscription. Yet on Darius' tomb he is mentioned as the king's quiver-bearer.

Γωβρύην, mentioned as Gaubaruwa in the Behistun inscription.

Ἰνταφέρνεα, called Vidafirna in the inscription, where he heads *the list.*

Μεγάβυζον, in the Behistun inscription called Bagabuksha.

Ὑδάρνεα, "*Vidarna*" in the inscription.

ὁ πατὴρ ὕπαρχος. The strange fact that Darius was king in his father's life-time is verified by the great inscription.

71. The impetuous policy of Darius.

ὡς συστήσων ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνατον = "with a view to combine with others in carrying out the death of the Magus."

οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον = "for it would *not be better* (to put them off than to do them *forthwith*)."

ἰδίῃ περιβαλλόμενος ἑωυτῷ κέρδεα = "*casting about* for his own private gains;" i. e. "making every *roundabout contrivance* for."

ἐπ' ὑμέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι = "having cast yourselves upon your own selves;" i. e. *throwing yourselves* upon your own resources, and on those alone.

ὑπερπέσῃ = "have passed over." A remarkable expression, certainly, as applied to *time.*

72. Decision of Darius.

διεστεώσας = "stationed *at intervals.*"

οὐδὲν χαλεπὰς παρελθεῖν = (know that the guards) "are in no respect difficult to pass by."

ἡμέων ἐόντων τοίων, κ.τ.λ. = "for being such as we are (i. e. nobles), there is no one (of the guards) who will not allow us to pass by."

σημῆναι τῷ βασιλέϊ = "to declare *without further delay* to the king." Observe the force of the aorist.

τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα = "for we are striving for the *same* object, *from a love of it.*" Further explained by *τὠυτοῦ περιεχόμεθα* = "we are *compassing* the same object" (a few lines below).

ἐς χρόνον—supply *ὕστερον* = "*hereafter.*"

73. Agreement of the seven conspirators in a settled plan.

παρέξει (supply *ὁ θεὸς*) = "when will the Deity afford us a more glorious opportunity?"

ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν = "to recover the government with safety."

τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσῃσι. See III. 65, and also καὶ τούτου ὦτα οὐκ ἔχοντος = "and since he has not his ears." So the Greeks of Cyrene, according to Herod. IV. 161, will not be governed by Battus who is *lame*.

ἐπὶ διαβολῇ = "from *ill-will*."

τίθεμαι ψῆφον = "I give *my* vote;" literally, "I put down my *pebble*" (with which they voted at that time).

καὶ μὴ διαλύεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. = "and that we should not break up from this assembly to go anywhere else than directly to the Magian."

74. The confession of Prexaspes.

ἐν ᾧ—supply χρόνῳ = "*whilst*."

κατὰ συντυχίην = "by *coincidence*," not "*by chance*."

Πρηξάσπεα φίλον προσθέσθαι = "to attach to themselves Prexaspes as a friend *without further delay*." Observe the force of the aorist.

αἴνῃ = αἴνῳ = "in good estimation," "*repute*."

πίστι τε λαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι. This is more fully developed as a phrase in IX. 106: πίστι καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι = "having *bound him down* by a pledge of fidelity and oaths." See Thucyd. IV. 86.

ἦ μὲν (= ἦ μὴν, the *usual formula* for an oath) ἕξειν παρ' ἑωυτῷ = (making him swear) "that assuredly he would *keep* to *himself*;" i. e. not *disclose*.

ὑπισχνεύμενοι τὰ πάντα, κ.τ.λ. = "undertaking to give him *ten thousand* of *everything*."

δεύτερα προσέφερον = "they proceeded to make a second proposal to him."

75. Prexaspes commits suicide.

ἐγενεηλόγησε = "*recounted* the genealogy" (of the family of Cyrus).

ὅσα ἀγαθά. Supply πάντα as an antecedent. "He proceeded to mention all the good things they had done."

ἀπῆκε ἑωυτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. = "he flung himself so as to be borne down headlong from the tower." With ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν compare Virgil's "*in caput*" = "*on one's head*."

τὸν πάντα χρόνον—supply διὰ = "during the *whole* of his career."

76. The conspirators receive a favourable omen.

οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀτάνην = "Otanes and his party." Just as we have lower down, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον = "Darius and his party:" and in Homer's *Iliad*, III. 146, οἱ ἀμφὶ Πρίαμον = "Priam and his train."

μηδὲ, οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἐπιτίθεσθαι = "not to make their attack while things were in a state of *tumult*."

ὠθιζομένων = "while they were struggling with each other *in words*." See VIII. 78, *ἐγένετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλὸς*, and compare IX. 26.

77. The Eunuchs' endeavour to stop the conspirators.

θείῃ πομπῇ χρεωμένους = "who were then experiencing the guidance of God." Compare Æsch. *Ag.* 747, *πομπᾷ Διὸς ξενίου*.

οἵ σφεας ἱστόρεον ὅ τι θέλοντες ἥκοιεν = "who proceeded to ask them with what desire they had come." Observe here that the dependent verb *ἥκοιεν* is in the optative mood, after a *past* tense of the governing verb. Had the governing verb been in the *present* or *future*, the dependent verb would have been in the *subjunctive (conjunctive) mood.* The dependence is after rather a different fashion in Latin. The governing verb, if future or present, will require the governed verb in dependence on it in the *present* tense subjunctive mood; but if the governing verb be *past*, it will require the dependent verb to be in a *past tense also*, in the subjunctive mood; the Latin language having no distinct optative mood. In Latin the above sentence would run, "qui ex iis quærebant quidnam volentes venissent."

διακελευσάμενοι = "having *encouraged* each other." Observe the force of the middle verb.

78. Resistance of the Magian brothers.

καὶ ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιεύμενον, πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο = "and when they learned what was going on they applied themselves to violent measures."

προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας; exactly our "*put to* the doors." See Thucyd. IV. 67.

συμπλακέντος = "*entangled* with." Lat. "impliciti."

79. A Magian massacre, and a commemorative festival.

πατάγῳ = "a *clashing* of arms."

τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον = "that came *in their way*."

εἰ δὲ μὴ νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἔσχε = "and had not the coming on of night checked (them)."

ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι. According to the Behistun inscription another view is to be taken of this matter. See Appendix II.

Μαγοφόνια. Called by some Persian word, which when translated into Greek is this.

φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς = "to show himself to the light of day."

80. The conspirators advocate different forms of government.

κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος = "the tumult had *settled down*."

ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν = "yet they were *really* spoken." *ὦν* = *οὖν* of the Attics, which is here, as elsewhere in Herodotus (viz. IV. 5, VI. 43, IV. 82), used in its *first* and *natural sense*, as being only another form of *ἐὸν* or *ὄν*, from *ὤν*, and so = "as a *fact*," "*actually*," "*really*."

ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα = "to lay down the administration of affairs in the hands of the general public of the Persians."

ἀγαθὸν = *σύμφερον* = "advantageous," "expedient" (of *political* good).

χρῆμα κατηρτημένον = "a well-arranged thing."

ἀνευθύνῳ = "irresponsible;" not subject to the *scrutiny*, *εὐθύνη*, so natural to the Athenian constitution when fully developed.

ἐγγίνεται ὕβρις. So Sophocles, *Œd. Tyr.* v. 883, *ὕβρις φυτεύει τύραννον ἄφθονον* = "free from envy" (literally).

διαβολὰς δὲ ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. Thucyd. III. 38, and Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 440.

οὔνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομίην. The Greeks knew no language but their own; hence they naturally fell into the error of reasoning from *words*, as equivalent to objects in rerum naturâ. Compare the language of Eurip. *Medea*, 129—133:

> *δεινὰ τυράννων λήματα...*
> *τῶν γὰρ μετρίων πρῶτα μὲν εἰπεῖν*
> *τοὔνομα νικᾷ, χρῆσθαί τε μακρῷ*
> *λῷστα βροτοῖσιν.*

Compare also the language of Athenagoras, the democratical orator at Syracuse, who exalts *the name* in a similar way. *ἐγὼ δέ φημι, πρῶτα μὲν, δῆμον ξύμπαν ὠνόμασθαι*; and compare also the reasoning from the *name* indulged in as the *starting point* in the *resolution* of the heroic Polyxena in *Hecuba*, v. 357, 8:

> *νῦν δ' εἰμὶ δούλη. πρῶτα μέν με τοὔνομα*
> *θανεῖν ἐρᾶν τίθησιν, οὐκ εἰωθὸς ὄν.*

And see Eurip. *Phœn.* 535—541, and Thucyd. VI. 39, and Arist. *Pol.* IV. p. 1294.

ἰσονομίην = "political equality" (in the eyes of the common *law*). In the Scholium on the deliverance of Athens from the Peisistratids especial glory is given to Harmodius and Aristogiton because they made Athens *ἰσονόμους*.

81. Megabyzus advocates an aristocracy.

δήμου ἀκολάστου = "an *insubordinate* or unbridled democracy." See Eurip. *Hec.* 605.

οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετὸν = "by no means is *it to be endured.*"

γινώσκειν = *τὸ γινώσκειν* of a more finished period of the language.

ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, κ.τ.λ. This general truth, according to Grote, is often stated by ancient authors. Livy says, "Hæc est natura multitudinis, aut humiliter servit aut superbè dominatur;" and Tacitus, "Nihil in vulgo modicum; terrere, ni paveant, uti pertimuerint, impunè contemni."

χειμάῤῥῳ ποταμῷ ἴκελος. Compare Cicero *pro Plancio* (Chaps. 4 and 6): "Illæ undæ comitiorum, et mare profundum et immensum, sic effervescunt quodam quasi æstu, ut ad alios accedant, ab aliis recedant." And see Demosthenes contra Æsch. *Fals. Leg.* p. 229: *ὡς ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.*

ἐπιλέξαντες = "having selected *for this purpose.*"

τούτοισι περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος = "let us *forthwith* (aorist) *invest* (observe the metaphor) these with the chief power."

82. Darius advises a monarchy.

πάντων ἀρίστων ἐόντων = "(supposing) all of them to be the best (of their kinds respectively)."

τοῦτο = *τὴν μουναρχίην*, or = *μούναρχον εἶναι*, as Kühner takes it.

φιλέει ἐγγίνεσθαι = "are wont to spring up." Herodotus frequently uses the verbs *φιλεῖν* and *θέλειν* to signify the actions of *necessity* or *inherent frequency*, as he regarded the working of things as but the *willing* and *loving* (*φιλέω* and *θέλω*) obedience to the decrees of Providence.

ἀπέβη ἐς μουναρχίην. Supply *τὰ πράγματα* = "the government passed away into a monarchy."

ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ = Lat. "non potest fieri *quin*," "it is impossible but that."

οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ, κ.τ.λ. = "for those who carry on villainously the affairs of the state, act by banding together and laying their heads together." See VII. 145, and Aristoph. *Knights*, 850, *τοῦτο δ' εἰς ἕν ἐστι συγκεκυφός.*

οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον = "for it is better (not to break) them."

83. Four of the seven conspirators support the views of Darius.

προσέθεντο ταύτῃ = "attached themselves to this" (last opinion, i.e. that of Darius).

δῆλα γάρ. Supply "choose a king," or some such expression.

ἐκ τοῦ μέσου. The more usual form would be *ἔξω* or *ἐκτός.* See IV. 118, VIII. 22, 73.

ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθῆστο = "sat *down* in idleness, apart from the common interest," i.e. kept neutral or indifferent.

84. Privileges granted to Otanes and his family.

στήσονται = "establish *for themselves*" (force of the *middle*).

αἰεὶ γινομένοισι = "*from time to time* descended."

ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν = "the Medish dress," which was of *silk*, according to VII. 116. Xerxes gave a similar honour to the Acantheans.

συνέστησε αὐτοὺς = "he had *established them*" (as a body of joint conspirators).

85, 86. The cunning of Œbares, the groom of Darius.

αὐτῶν ἐπαναβεβηκότων = "*when* they (i.e. the conspirators) had got upon (their horses)."

ἐν τούτῳ τοί ἐστι = "it depends upon this." So in VI. 109, and Eurip. *Iphig. Taur.* 1057.

τούτου εἵνεκεν = "*as far as this goes.*"

ἅμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ = "as soon as the day began clearly to dawn." See IX. 44, and Thuc. III. 1.

ἐξ αἰθρίης = "out of a *clear, unclouded* sky." This is the reason why it was regarded as *supernatural*. Compare Horace, *Od.* I. 34. 7:

> "Diespiter
> .... per *purum* tonantes
> Egit equos volucremque currum."

ἐτελέωσέ μιν = "inaugurated him" (as king).

ἐκ συνθέτου = "e *composito*," as we say "*got-up*," "by arrangement," or "*settled* agreement."

87. Another account of the trick.

ἐπιψαύσας = "having touched the *surface*."

κρύψας. Compare Eurip. *Hec.* 1012:

> *πέπλων ἐντὸς ἢ κρύψασ' ἔχεις.*

88. The power of Darius.

Δαρεῖος βασιλεύς. Cyrus died B.C. 529. Cambyses reigned (Chap. 66) seven years and five months. The Magus (Chap. 67) only seven months. Thus Darius would begin to be *king* B.C. 521. See Clinton's *Fasti Hell.* Vol. II. p. 14.

ξεῖνοι = "*friends*." The Greeks often regarded the *stranger* as a *friend*, and therefore they marked both relations by the *same word* (*ξένος*). On the other hand, the colder-hearted Romans regarded the *stranger* as an *enemy*, and marked both relations with the *same word or its cognate*, as "*hospes*" and *hostis*. On a principle much of the same kind the Romans produced *satire*, and excelled in it more than other nations; not satisfied with their attacks on men's persons and countries, they attacked their *character*.

οὐκ ἂν ἐσβάλοιεν = "*could not possibly* have made an invasion."

γάμους τε τοὺς πρώτους, κ.τ.λ. = "The *first* marriages which Darius proceeded to make, in the opinion of the Persians, were the two daughters of Cyrus, Atossa and Artystone." Besides the wives mentioned by Herod. in this chapter, Darius married the daughter of Gobryas (VII. 2) and Phratagune, daughter of his brother Artames (VII. 224), the former before he became king. His sons by the daughter of Gobryas were Artabazanes (VII. 2), Ariabignes (VII. 97), Arsamones. By Atossa,

daughter of Cyrus, he had Xerxes, Masistes, Achæmenes, Hystaspes (VII. 64, 82, 97). By Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, he had Arsames (VI. 69), Gobryas (VI. 72). By Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, Ariomardus. By Phratagune he had Abrocomes and Hyperanthes.

89. The civil government of Darius.

ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι = "established for himself twenty principalities, which (the Persians) themselves call *satrapies*." According to Rawlinson the word "*satrap*" is found twice in the great inscription at *Behistun*. It is spelt *Khshatrapa*, being derived from "pa," *keeper* or preserver, and Khshatram = "empire." Compare the Lat. "*procurator*.'

φόρους = "taxes." In the European monarchies of the middle ages, what were called *free gifts* were more ancient than *taxes*. Compare the "aides" in the old French monarchies; and the *gifts* of the German kings, according to Tacitus. See also *Iliad*, IX. 154—297, and *Odyssey*, passim.

πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι, κ.τ.λ. = "joining to some nations the neighbouring inhabitants, and assigning to others nations more remote still, while he passed over the adjoining people."

τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται. According to Bœckh, *seventy Euboic minæ* were = *seventy-two* Attic; and the new Attic talent was to the Euboic in round numbers as 73 to 75.

ὀλίγωρος = "careless and mean" = "trifling and trivial."

90. Finances of Darius.

Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ. To distinguish *these Lydian* Magnesians from those in *Thessaly*, who were the founders of the colony.

Συρίων. See I. 72.

ἐς τὴν φορου ἐουσαν ἵππον. Bähr attributes this arrangement, differing as it did from that which prevailed throughout the rest of the empire, to the vast importance of *Cilicia* as a *military post*. See also Cramer's *Asia Minor*, Vol. II. p. 317. See I. 32, and II. 4.

91. The financial system of Darius.

Ποσειδηΐου. This city lay on the coast of Cassiotis, south of the mouth of the Orontes, and about midway between the cities of Seleucia and Laodicea. According to Mannert, the remains of the old town still retain the name of *Posseda*. The district of Cassiotis was included in Upper Syria subsequently; but it is clear from this passage, and from V. 52, that in his time the province of Cilicia included part of northern Syria, and extended eastward as far as the Euphrates.

καὶ τοῦ ἐπιμετρουμένου σίτου = "and the corn measured out (to the soldiers)."

τῷ Λευκῷ τείχεϊ τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. The city of Memphis consisted of *three* divisions; two of burnt brick, and *one*, the citadel, of *white* stone, whence the name *τὸ Λευκὸν τεῖχος*. (See Thucydides, I. 104.)

Σατταγύδαι. Ritter places these tribes in the regions of Paropamisus and Margiana, corresponding with the north and north-western parts of *Cabool*, including, most likely, the east of Khorassan.

Κισσίων. These are mentioned in VII. 62, 86: their country is now *Khuyistan.*

92. The financial distribution of Darius' empire.

Παρικανίων καὶ Ὀρθοκορυβαντίων. The Paricanii are again mentioned in VII. 68. According to Ritter, they are the same with the Uxii and Cossæi, who occupied the mountain-chain which separates Persis from Susiana. The Orthocorybantii probably occupied the lower Jaxartes or Sir.

Κάσπιοι δὲ, κ.τ.λ. According to Rennell, the Caspii held the *eastern* part of Aderbigian, with the province of *Ghilan*. The Dareitæ, whom he thinks the same with the Dahæ, were seated in Dahistan, south-east of the Caspian, between Hyrcania and the ancient course of the Oxus. The Pausi, or Pausici, bordered on the Chorasmii. The Pantimathi lay in the same quarter. By this means he seems to extend the eleventh satrapy from the mouth of the Cyrus (Khur) to that of the Oxus, occupying the semicircular part south of the Caspian, comprehending the modern provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, Korhan, Dahestan, known in ancient geography by the names of Gela, Maxera, Papuri, Hyrcania, and the country of the Dahæ.

Βακτριανῶν. Ancient Bactria corresponded nearly with the modern *Balk.*

93, 94. The same subject continued.

Πακτυϊκῆς. See III. 102. It is supposed to be between the Indus and the Choraspes, the *Cabul* river.

Σαγαρτίων. Nomads, see I. 125, and VII. 85. Ritter places them on the borders of the desert, to the north-east of Diangiana.

Σαραγγέων. In the Punjaub, or "land of *five* rivers."

ἀνασπάστους = "transplanted:" properly, "torn away from (their homes)."

Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι. In VII. 64, Herodotus tells us that the people named Scythians by the Greeks are by the Persians called *Sacæ*. According to Rennell, the Sacæ and Caspii occupied Little Thibet and Cashmere.

Πάρθοι δὲ, κ.τ.λ. According to Rennell, Sogdia is Samarcand, part of Bokhara, between the Oxus and the Jaxartes; Chorasmia is Kharesm (part of independent Tartary); *Aria* is the district of *Herat.* Parthia, at this time, embraced the mountainous districts between Hyrcania, Margiana, Aria and the desert of Chorasmia.

Παρικάνιοι. Ritter states these *fairy* worshippers (from Pairikâ = "fairy") were seated in the valley of Pischeen, to the south of the Amran Chain, on the west of the Toba mountain, from Bushire to

Shorawuk; a district lying on the south-eastern portion of Afghanistan. He places the Asiatic Ethiopians in Gedrosia.

Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ, καὶ Σάσπειρσι, κ.τ.λ. According to Rennell the Matiêni were in the north-west part of Media Major, above the ascent of Mount Zagros, and between Ecbatana and the Lake of Maraga: the Saspeires in the eastern part of Armenia. The *Tibareni* lay on the borders of the Thermodon, and the Mosynœci, Macrones, Moschi, followed in succession eastward.

καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους = "and they were accustomed to pay a tribute *equal to that* of all the others."

ψήγματος. Barnes tells us that the rivers Swan and Hurrso yield *more gold* than the Indus; and as their sources are not remote, it would show that the ores lie on the southern side of the Himalaya.

95. The reckoning of the tribute in Euboic talents.

πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοϊκόν. The whole sum for the nineteen satrapies was 7600 Babylonian talents of silver, each of which, according to Herodotus, is equal to 70 Euboic minas; altogether 8866⅔ Euboic talents. The text here contains an erroneous summing up of items, which critics have no means of correcting with certainty. Nor is it possible to trust the large sum which he alleges to have been levied from the Indians, though all the other items, included in the nineteen silver-paying divisions, seem within the probable truth; and indeed both Rennell and Robertson think the total too small. The charges on some of the satrapies are decidedly smaller than the reality. See Grote, Vol. IV. p. 345.

τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαιδεκαστάσιον. The relative value of gold to silver seems to have varied, in ancient times, from 13 to 1 to 10 to 1. In modern Europe the proportions are from 13½ to 1 to 15 to 1.

μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια, κ.τ.λ. This amount exceeds by 340 talents the sum total of the two amounts mentioned, namely, the 9540 talents from the 19 satrapies, and the 4680 talents, the value of gold dust. These sums were not *all* the provinces were required to furnish, but only the sum to be paid over by the satraps to the royal treasury. See Heeren, Vol. I. p. 411.

τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων, κ.τ.λ. = "but I pass by and do not speak of any sum that falls short of these;" i. e. the minor amounts.

96. Taxes of the islanders and European Greeks.

τῆς Λιβύης ὀλιγαχόθεν = "and from a small portion of Libya." See III. 91.

ἀπὸ νήσων. On the Ægean Sea, close to Asia.

ἐπεὰν δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων. Before Darius Hystaspes the Persians had no coinage of their own; and the *daric* first struck by him (Herod. IV. 166) was, properly speaking, a *medal*, and of the *finest* gold.

97. The Persians pay no tax.

ἡ Περσίς. Persia Proper = modern province of "*Fars.*"

δῶρα δὲ ἀγίνεον = "are wont to bring gifts." See on III. 89.

σπέρματι. Supposed to be "*rice.*"

ἀπύρου χρυσίου = "unmelted gold;" supposed to be "*gold-dust.*"

φάλαγγας ἐβένου = "*rolls* of ebony."

98, 99, 100. An account of the Indians.

οἱ Ἰνδοί. The India of Herodotus seems to embrace Little Thibet and Cabul, the Punjaub, the southern districts near the mouth of the Indus, and the confines of Guzerat.

καλάμου δὲ ἐν γόνυ = "a single joint of the *bamboo* cane." Pliny observes, *Nat. Hist.* XVI. 65: "Arundini quidem Indicæ arborea amplitudo: quales vulgo in templis videmus. Navigiorumque etiam vicem præstant (si credimus) singula internodia."

Παδαῖοι. Bohlen says the name was derived from Padyas = "bad" or "wicked," and that Καλατίαι is from Kala = "*black.*" Tibullus, IV. I. 144, has:

"Impia nec sævis celebrans convivia mensis
Ultima vicinus Phœbo tenet arva Padæus."

ἄπαρνός ἐστι μὴ μὲν νοσέειν. So III. 66, and see note on I. 152.

οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι = "non-consentientes" = "not *coinciding with him in their opinion, as a fact.*" Observe the force of *οὐκ* with the participle.

αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα = "those who have most intercourse (with them)." See Thucyd. I. 41, Dr Arnold's Edition.

ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον = *ἐς τοῦτο.* So in VII. 92.

ἑτέρων δέ ἐστι Ἰνδῶν. Generally supposed to be the Mahrattas.

101, 102. Habits of the Indians described.

Κασπατύρῳ τε πόλι. These are considered by Heeren to be the city and territory of *Cabul.* See IV. 44. The desert subsequently mentioned is generally taken to be "*Cobi.*"

οἱ μύρμηκες. Bœckh (*Public Economy of Athens*) explains this fable as arising from the productive *mines* of India and the golden sands of its rivers.

σειρηφόρον = "drawn by the trace only." See *Aga.* of Æschylus, v. 815.

103. The camel described.

ἔχει τέσσερας μηρούς = "has four thighs." Blakesley here well remarks, "The appearance of *four knees* in the hind legs of the camel, arises from the circumstance, that the joint which anatomically answers to the human knee, and which in the ox or horse is concealed, or nearly so, under the skin of the belly, projects a good way below, the belly

being pinched in, and the thigh-bone longer in proportion than that of other quadrupeds. In fact, the animal kneels upon this joint when he crouches to receive his burden."

104, 105. Indian method of obtaining gold.

λελογισμένως ὅκως ἂν, κ.τ.λ. = "from calculating that they might be engaged in plundering, while the scorching heats were hottest."

ὑπερτείλας, κ.τ.λ. = "when the sun has *risen above* (the horizon) and reached a certain height up to the time of the breaking-up of market (i. e. a little after *mid-day*)."

ἐν ὕδατι βρέχεσθαι = "to be bathed in sweat." Compare the French expression, "nager dans l'eau," and the Latin word, "*sudor*," which is only another form of *ὕδωρ*.

ἀποκλιναμένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίης = "*after* mid-day was passed." Some read *ἀποκλινομένης* = "*immediately* after mid-day."

ἐπὶ δυσμῇσι ἐὼν = "at its *setting*." See Job xxiv. 7, and Exod. xxii. 27, Deut. xxiv. 13.

παραλύεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. = "slacken their paces, first one, and then the other, as they drag themselves along." See III. 113, IV. 203.

ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδὲν = "do not at all *give in* (i. e. relax) from softness." See III. 51.

τὸν πλέω for *τὸ πλέον*. See on I. 24.

106, 107. Theory that the most beautiful things come from the earth's extreme parts.

τὰ κάλλιστα ἔλαχον = "have had the most beautiful objects allotted to them." See III. 116.

πολλόν τι κεκραμένας = "to some considerable degree tempered." See Plato's *Timæus*, p. 24 C.

χρυσὸς ἄπλετος. Compare Soph. *Antig.* 1038, *τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσόν.*

καρπὸν εἴρια. This is evidently *cotton*, which grew in great abundance in the Punjaub. See ch. 47, Bk. III. and observe the German word for "*cotton*" is "*Baum-woller*" = "*tree-wool.*"

τὴν στύρακα = "the gum-styrax."

ὄφιες ὑπόπτεροι = "mosquitoes" acc. to Heeren; but = "flying-serpents" acc. to Miot and others.

108, 109. Providential arrangements in the world of animals.

ἐπικυΐσκεται = "becomes doubly pregnant." See Pliny, X. 13.

ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα, κ.τ.λ. According to Larcher this is not at all true. Gordon Cumming, and recently Dr Livingstone, have shaken the authority of Herodotus with respect to this animal.

ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον. See Thucyd. I. 2, and Plato's *Rep.* IV. 420 E.

πολλόν τι χρῆμα. See I. 36.

110. The Arabian method of gathering the cassia.

βύρσῃσι καὶ δέρμασι = "with *dressed* and *undressed* hides."

ἐπὶ τὴν κασίην = "*after* the cassia" (as an object of search).

τῇσι νυκτερίσι...τέτριγε. Compare Homer's *Odyss.* Ω. 5:

ταὶ δὲ τρίζουσαι ἕποντο.
Ὡς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες...
Τρίζουσαι ποτέονται.

And Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* XII. 19) has, "item casiam circa paludes propugnante unguibus diro vespertilionum genere, aligerisque serpentibus." Heeren believes these to have been the winged lizards (*Draco volans* of Linn.) so common in that country.

προσείκελα = "bearing a resemblance to" (in *form* or appearance generally).

καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα = "and *brave* as *bravery itself*," as we say, "as brave as brave can be." In speaking of the great extent of a quality we often magnify it to the extent of the *abstract* quality itself; as in Latin, "exitium Libyæ" = "*the* very ruin of Africa." Compare the expression, *ὡς τάχιστα*, and such like, which are probably only elliptical, the positive being understood.

111. The Arabian method of collecting cinnamon.

κιννάμωμον καλέομεν. According to Apetz the fable has arisen from the etymological sense of the Phœnician word, of which the former part keên means "*nest*," and the verb formed from it "*kinnmeen*," "to build a nest." See Rosenmüller. Heeren infers that a *mystery* was made of the native country of cinnamon. He says, that the researches of modern naturalists have sufficiently proved that it is found in the *East Indies*, and in the East-Indian islands alone; and that although some of the later Greek geographers, amongst whom Strabo may be reckoned, speak of cinnamon as a production of Arabia, yet they were most probably deceived by the circumstance of its being obtained through the medium of Arabia.

112, 113, 114. Productions of Arabia.

τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον = "gum-cistus," acc. to Heeren. This phenomenon is explained by the *exuding* from a shrub on which the goats are fond of browsing.

γλοιός. Hence probably our "*glue*."

δύο δὲ γένεα οἴων. Mr Fellowes (*Travels in Asia Minor*) speaking of Smyrna says: "The sheep of the country are the Cape sheep, having a kind of apron tail, entirely of rich marrowy fat, extending to the width of their hind-quarters, and frequently *trailing on the ground*; the weight of the tail is often more than six or eight pounds."

ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίης = "when the mid-day *is on the decline*."

ἀμφιλαφέας = "*huge*." Properly applied to vessels that could be *taken hold* of *on both* sides (λαμβάνειν ἀμφὶς) by *two handles*, and required to be so from their size.

115. The extremity of Europe.—Amber.

'Ηριδανὸν = (probably) "*the Vistula*." According to Rawlinson, the word Eridanus (= Rhodanus) seems to have been applied by the early inhabitants of Europe, *especially to great and strong-running rivers*. The Italian *Eridanus* (the Po), the Transalpine Rhodanus (the Rhône), and the still more northern *Rhenus* (the Rhine), a name in which we may recognize a similar contraction to that which has now changed Rhodanus into Rhone, are all streams of this character. The main root of the word appears in the Sanscrit sru, the Greek ῥε-, ῥυ- (hre-, hru-, rhe-, rhu-), the Latin *ri*-vus, our *ri*-ver, the German *ri*-nnen, &c. This root appears to have been common to all the Indo-Germanic nations. In Eridanus, Rhodanus, &c. it is joined with a root *dan* (= "stream" or "water"), which is also very widely spread, appearing in the words *Dan*ube, *Dan*e, *Dn*iester, *Dn*ieper, *Don*, *Don*an, *Don*ety, *Tan*ais, *Ten*a, and perhaps Jor-*dan*.

τὸ ἤλεκτρον = "*the amber*." Tacitus (*Germania*, cap. 45) speaks of *amber* ("*succinum*"), which the natives called *glesum* (glass?), as found in the shoals and shores of the Baltic Sea.

Κασσιτερίδας. The Scilly Islands, or tin islands. Kasterâ = "tin" in Sanscrit: hence the Greek Κασσίτερος, and the Arabic "Kasdar." The Carthaginians went to Britain for tin, as the Tyrians had done before.

116. Gold comes from the north of Europe.

'Αριμασπούς. See IV. 13 and 27, and Æsch. *Prom.* 828:

> ὀξυστόμους γὰρ Ζηνὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνας
> Γρύπας φύλαξαι, τόν τε μουνῶπα στρατὸν
> 'Αριμασπὸν ἱπποβάμον' οἳ χρυσόῤῥυτον
> οἰκοῦσιν ἀμφὶ νᾶμα, Πλούτωνος πόρον.

And see Milton, *Par. Lost*, II. 943.

117. The sale of water in Asia.

Σαραγγέων. Ritter says these people, as well as the Drangæ mentioned by Arrian, Strabo, and Ptolemy, were divisions of the *same people*, as the *dr* in the old Persian corresponded with the ȝ in old Bactrian. One division of this people he places about the lake Zarrah or Zareh, the Aria Palus, or 'Αράχωτος λίμνη,—the other, the Sarangæ, to the northward.

διαλελαμμένος = "*distributed*."

ὕει σφι ὁ θεός. Here we find the good old religious form in which the Deity is made the *agent* and *subject* in all such sentences expressive of the operati n of natural phenomena. So in Latin, "Deus pluit," before the impersonal "pluit" arose.

διάκορος = "thoroughly *saturated*." *διὰ* = Lat. "per," being *intensive*.

118. The outrage of Intaphernes.

κατέλαβε. Supply *τὸ ἀποθανεῖν* as the subject.

ἐσαγγεῖλαι = "*to go in* to announce him."

οὐ περιώρεον. Supply *αὐτὸν ἐσιέναι.* See I. 24.

τὸν ἀκινάκεα. The characteristic weapon of *Asia*. Horace speaks of it as "*Medus acinaces*" (*Od.* I. 27. 5); it usually hangs by the *thigh*. Observe that the root *ac*, here common to this word and many others, denotes "*sharpness*." Hence *ac*ies, *ac*erbus, *ac*utus, *ac*umen, and *ac*er; and in Greek ἄκρος, αἰχμή, κ.τ.λ. Compare English "*ac*he" from Greek ἄχος.

ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλινὸν = "having fastened up about the bridle."

119. Darius seizes Intaphernes.

ἀπεπειρᾶτο γνώμης = "proceeded to *sound* his opinion by *distant* inquiries." The force of the *ἀπὸ* here seems to imply that the king kept *off* the real subject, but made gradual approaches to it occasionally for the purpose of ascertaining their real feelings.

ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων = "having many grounds for expecting."

ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Supply *δέσιν* = "he bound them in bondage with a view to putting them to death."

ἡ δ' ἀμείβετο. Compare Soph. *Antig.* 905—912. The perfect similarity of sentiment between the last four lines and the sentiment in Herodotus here is so very striking, that we are inclined to think one the *source* of the other. The *Antigone* was represented B.C. 441, and Herodotus went to Thurium B.C. 443, and yet he went on revising his work until about B.C. 408; so that it was quite possible for him to have taken it from his friend Sophocles.

120, 121. Orœtes, satrap of Sardis, puts Polycrates to death.

κατὰ...τὴν Καμβύσεω νοῦσον = "about the time of the sickness of Cambyses." *κατὰ* (of time) = in a line with—*parallel with that* event.

Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος. See III. 127, where it is said that he was satrap of Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. Sardis was the capital of the satrapy.

ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέος θυρέων = "at the *court* of the king." Hence the Eastern word "*Porte*" applied to the Oriental court.

νομοῦ ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ. Dascyleum, a small town in Bithynia, on the Hellespont, was the residence of the satrap of the Hellespontine cities. See Arnold's *Thuc.* I. 129.

Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήϊον. This poet flourished about the 55th Olympiad, in the beginning of Cyrus' reign. After the death of Polycrates, B.C. 512, he went to Athens, to the court of Hipparchus.

122. How Orœtes got Polycrates into his power.

τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπηΐης λεγομένης γενεῆς. Wesseling means by this an *historical period* as opposed to a *mythic*. Grote remarks (Vol. I. p. 313, note), that the expression exactly corresponds to that of Pausanias, IX. 5. 1: *ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων Ἡρώων*, for the age preceding the *ἀνθρωπηΐη γενεή*. See also VIII. 21.

123. Mæandrius, the secretary of Polycrates, tricked.

πληρώσας λίθων. See Cornelius Nepos (*Life of Hannibal*) for a like trick used by Hannibal towards the *Gortynians;* and also see Thuc. VI. 46.

καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας = "having bound down the chests (with ropes):" the only way to fasten chests in an age when locks were unknown. Compare the *straw ropes* of the poor Irish emigrants, whose coarse boxes are generally without locks; and see Ezekiel (xxvii. 24), "chests of rich apparel *bound with cords.*" To fasten the end so as to defy the attempt of another to untie it gave rise to the proverb (most probably), *ὁ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως δεσμός*; and compare the "vindice nodus" of Horace.

124. The dream of Polycrates' daughter.

παντοίη ἐγίνετο = "became everything," i.e. tried all sorts of *expedients*. See VII. 10. 3, and IX. 119.

ἐπεφημίζετο = "continued her words of ill omen." See Thuc. VII. 75.

125. Its fulfilment.

Συρηκοσίων—τύραννοι. Gelo died B.C. 478, where the history of Herod. ends with the siege of Sestos. Hiero died B.C. 467, from which time, except the single year of Thrasybulus' reign, immediately after Hiero, the government was democratical, until Dionysius, B.C. 406.

οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος = "in a manner not fit for description." See VI. 30, VII. 238.

126, 127. Vengeance overtakes Orœtes.

ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχὴν = "deprived of the government." So III. 65, 137.

ἀγγαρήϊον = "the Persian mounted courier." See VIII. 98, and Xenoph. *Cyropæd.* VIII. 6. 7, and Æsch. *Agam.* 273.

ὑπείσας = "having placed *in ambuscade*."

αὐτῷ ἵππῳ = "horse *and all*."

τῆς ἰθείης. Supply *ὁδοῦ*, and see note on II. 161.

οἰδεόντων ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων = "while things were still in a state of *tumult*," *literally* "*swell*ing;" (hence *οἶδμα*, "*the swell*" (of the sea). Observe the Lat. "tumeo" = "*to swell;*" hence "tumultus," and our "*tumult*."

128. Tact of Bagæus.

παλλομένων = "while (the lots) were being shaken." See *Iliad*, III. 866.

περιαιρεόμενος. See III. 41.

γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιληΐους = "the royal scribes." This division of power and double appointment by the great king appears to have been retained until the close of the Persian empire. See Quintus Curtius, V. 1, 17, 11. The present Turkish government nominates a Defverdar as *finance* administrator in each province, with authority derived directly from itself, and professedly independent of the Pacha.

129, 130. Darius sprains his ancle, and is cured by Democedes.

τῶν χρημάτων = "the property." Among it was Democedes, as one of his slaves.

ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων = "his ancle-joint was *dislocated* from its socket."

παρακούσας = "heard *by the way*" = Lat. "*obiter* audire."

κατεφάνη = "it was *downright* evident." See VI. 1.

φλαύρως ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην = "he possessed skill, though after a *sorry* fashion."

ἐπέτρεψε. Supply *ἑαυτὸν* or *τὸ πρᾶγμα*.

δωρέεται = Lat. "donare." It has a double construction either with *τινί τι* or *τινά τινι*.

ὑποτύπτουσα φιάλῃ = "dipping down *deep* with the cup."

στατῆρας = about sixteen shillings and threepence of our money. Said to have been first coined by Cyrus.

131, 132, 133, 134, 135. The history of Democedes.

πατρὶ συνείχετο, κ.τ.λ. The passage is well rendered by Blakesley: "At Crotona he was *kept on the* fret by a father of bitter temper." See VI. 12. In both cases the annoyance spoken of is one acting by *continual* (*τὸ συνεχὲς*) irritation.

τῶν ὅσα. Supply *πάντων* as an *antecedent*, and see I. 21.

περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστὶ ἐργαλήϊα = "the instruments which are of practical service as *bearing upon* his act." Observe the accusative here with *περὶ*, expressive of a *real* object; the genitive would imply a *mental* relation only = "concerning."

δημοσίῃ μισθεῦνται = "engage him for the *public* and at the *public expense*." At all times of Greece, in modern days as well as in Homer's days, the physician was counted amongst the public functionaries (*δημιοεργοί*, *Odyss.* XVII. 383). As the Athenians in the time of Aristophanes allowed their ambassadors only *two drachmas* a day (*Acharnians*, V. 66), it is generally thought that Herodotus has grossly exaggerated the salary paid to *Democedes*. It probably came through

the *Crotonians*, who gave Herodotus the information, in order to honour their own townsman.

Ἀργεῖοι ἤκουον μουσικὴν—πρῶτοι. Müller (*Dorians*, Vol. II. p. 345): "Argos was particularly celebrated for its flute-players. About the 48th Olympiad (B.C. 588) Sacadas wrote poetry, composed music, and played lyric songs and elegies to the flute."

ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα = "he possessed the greatest influence." See below, ch. 157.

ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα = "all those things which *tend* to dishonour." See IV. 90, and I. 10.

αὐξανομένῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι, κ.τ.λ. Compare Lucretius:

> "Præterea, gigni pariter cum corpore, et una
> Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem."

And Livy, VI. 23: "Juvenibus bella data et *cum corporibus vigere* et *deflorescere animis.*"

ζεύξας γέφυραν. See IV. 88, 97. Herodotus uses also *ζεύγνυναι ποταμόν.* See VII. 24, 33. In the former case he means the *joining* of the *rafts* or *boats* composing the bridge; in the latter case he means the *joining* of the *banks* of the river, by means of a bridge.

τὴν πρώτην. Supply *ὥραν.*

καὶ ἅμα ἔπος τε, καὶ ἔργον. Supply *ἔφατο* = "no sooner *said* than *done*" = Lat. "dictum factum." Compare Homer, *Iliad*, Ψ. 242:

αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ἅμα μῦθος ἔην, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον.

πᾶσαν...τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Observe the adjective here is separated from its noun by *Hyperbaton,* to give it *emphasis.*

συμβαλέεσθαι = "would contribute," Lat. "conferre." This metaphorical word is one which comes from the Greek custom of holding joint entertainments, in which each guest *brings and contributes* something to the *feast:* these contributions were called *τὰ σύμβολα.*

136. Departure of Democedes to Crotona.

γαυλὸν = *ναῦς στρογγύλη* = "a *round* vessel." Acc. to Bochart it comes from the Hebrew "*gol,*" round. See VIII. 97, where the term used is *γαυλοὺς Φοινικήϊους.*

παντοίων ἀγαθῶν. Supply *ἔπλησαν.*

ἐθηεῦντο = "they *kept observing.*" Imperfect and frequentative = Lat. "speculabantur."

ἀπεγράφοντο = "they continued to *write out* (their observations)."

ἐκ ῥηστώνης = "*easy* good-nature." From this sense it came to mean "*looseness* or laxity of *principle*" as opp. to *strict* morality or dealing. Compare the force of "facilis" in "*faciles* Nymphæ."

137. The Persians pursue Democedes.

τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι = "their sticks." "The custom of carrying sticks," says Müller (*Dorians*, Vol. II. p. 287), "was common to the Spartans with the Dorians of Lower Italy."

κῶς ταῦτα βασιλέϊ Δαρείῳ, κ.τ.λ. = "how will king Darius put up with being insulted in this *extraordinary* way?" see VIII. 70. *κῶς ἐκχρήσει*, literally = "how will it *suffice* or *content*."

σπεῦσαι τὸν γάμον. See Homer's *Odyss.* XIX. 137, *οἱ δὲ γάμον σπεύδουσιν*, and also I. 38. Arnold in Thucyd. IV. 121, where the people of Scione are paying honour to Brasidas, (*προσήρχοντο ὥσπερ ἀθλητῇ,*) cites this passage as an evidence how far the Greeks admired distinguished excellence in the games.

138. The Persian pursuers shipwrecked on Iapygia.

ἐκπίπτουσι τῇσι νηυσί, κ.τ.λ. = "they are shipwrecked on the Iapygian promontory," which is now called Capo di Lucca.

Κνιδίους μούνους. See Müller's *Dorians* (Vol. I. p. 145), who thinks the friendship of the Cnidians with the Tarentines was founded on the recognition of a common origin.

139. Fall of Samos.

οἱ δέ τινες, κ.τ.λ. = "and *some few* also to see the country itself."

φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου = "being *banished* from Samos;" being expelled by his brother. See ch. 39.

χλανίδα (like *χλαμὺς*), a *cloak*, but the former was of *finer* texture and more *costly*. Observe it is called by the general name *εἷμα* (lower down) = "an *outer* garment."

αὐτὴν ὠνέετο = "*was for* buying it." The imperfect here is merely *tentative*, expressing an *attempt* to complete an action.

θείῃ τύχῃ χρεώμενος = "availing himself of the lucky circumstance." See I. 111, and III. 53.

ἄλλως = "without any equivalent;" i. e. gratis, or "*merely* as a gift."

παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἷμα = "takes *along with him* that outer garment."

140. Syloson becomes known to Darius.

ἠπίστατο = "*thought*." *ἐπίσταμαι* has often *this* sense in Herodotus.

δι' εὐηθίην = "through his good-nature," and sometimes = "simplicity" (silliness). See Thucyd. III. 83, and compare the French "*bonhommie*" and the German "*einfalt*."

περιεληλύθοι = "had *come round* to."

Δαρείου εὐεργέτης. See VIII. 85, and Thucyd. I. 129.

ᾧ ἐγὼ προαιδεῦμαι = "to whom I should show honour or thanks for a benefit *previously* (conferred on me)." Or "to whom I am under any *previous* obligation."

ἀναβέβηκε...κω, κ.τ.λ. = "has come up the country as yet to our court."

ἤ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς = "*few* or *none*;" i. e. almost nobody, or scarcely any-one. In Latin we have "aut *unus* aut *nullus*."

ἔχω δὲ χρέος, κ.τ.λ. = "and I have no debt of (*due to*) a Greek to mention." (The *objective genitive*.)

τί θέλων λέγει ταῦτα = "what he *meant* by saying these things." Compare the Latin expression, "*quid sibi velit*."

παρῆγε = "led him in" (by walking *along side* of him).

στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον = "and when he took his stand before him" (in the *midst* of the guards).

ἀλλ' ὧν ἴση γε, κ.τ.λ. = "yet really the favour was the same to me (then) as if *now* I should gain a considerable acquisition from some quarter."

ὡς μή κοτέ, κ.τ.λ. = "so that never at any time will you repent of having done a kindness to Darius, the son of Hystaspes." See on I. 5.

ἀνασωσάμενός μοι, κ.τ.λ. = "but restore my country, Samos, to free-dom, and give it me back without delay." Observe here the force of the aorists.

ἐξανδραποδίσιος = "selling the men *out of the* (country) for slaves." So we find in v. 6, ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ = "*for exportation*."

141. Otanes is commissioned to restore Syloson.

ἀπέστελλε = "*proceeded* to send off."

καταβάς. Blakesley observes, "it does not appear *what sea-board* is here intended; and probably no definite place was meant by the story."

142. Mæandrius tries to form a commonwealth in Samos.

ἐπιτροπαίην = "to hold it in *commission*." So in IV. 147, and espe-cially the word ἐπιτέτραπται lower down in this chapter.

Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου, κ.τ.λ. = "he *had* an altar built to Zeus, the guar-dian god of freedom."

τέμενος. The holy ground *cut off* (τέμνω) from *secular* uses, and dedicated to the service of religion, hence the Lat. "*templum*. See *Iliad*, Θ. 48.

ἐγὼ δέ, τὰ τῷ πέλας, κ.τ.λ. = "but those things which I throw in the teeth of my neighbour, I will not do them myself, as far as I can (avoid them)." See VII. 136.

δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων = "lording it over men on an equality with himself."

ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθείς. See Chap. 80, Bk. III.

καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθημι = "and I *invest* you with freedom."

κακὸς="*base born*," as opposed to *ἀγαθὸς*, *ἄριστος*—the *good* (in birth), "quality," "aristocracy."

ἐὼν ὄλεθρος. So Demosthenes, *Philipp*. 3, p. 119, of King Philip: *ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος*. Horace, *Ep*. I. 15. 31: "*pernicies* barathrumque macelli."

143. The proposal of Mæandrius not received.

νόῳ λαβὼν="having taken into consideration." See III. 41, 51, V. 91, VIII. 19,="having *comprehended*, or *grasped* it in their *mind*."

ὡς δὴ...δώσων="as if, *forsooth*, he were about to render an account of the property, which he had got (*between*) in his hands." *δὴ*=*ἤδη*. Compare the irony sometimes found in our own "*now*."

Λυκάρητος. Afterwards governor, see V. 17.

ὡς οἴκασι. An unusual form of the *personal* for the *impersonal* verb *ἔοικε*.

144. Syloson arrives at Samos with Persian troops.

κατάγοντες="*restoring* (from exile) to his country."

ἀνταείρεται="lifts up (his hands) against him."

οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι="those of most worth," i.e. the highest in dignity.

θρόνους θέμενοι="*causing* seats to be placed" (force here of the middle voice).

145. A truce formed and broken.

ὑπομαργότερος="maddish," rather mad. See III. 29, and VI. 75. Observe the *diminutive* force of *ὑπὸ*=Lat. "sub," as "subalbus," "rather white."

ὅ τι δὴ ἐξαμαρτὼν="having committed some great offence, whatever it might be."

γοργύρῃ="an underground prison."

διακύψας διὰ, κ.τ.λ.="having crept out through the prison." Literally, "having *stooped* through."

οὕτω δὴ="in this *way*, and in no other."

146. The Persians attacked.

ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον="took up the proposal." Compare "*suscipio*" in Lat. with the sense of *ὑπολαμβάνω*.

ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος="having arrived at this particular degree of folly" (the *special* genitive).

προσεμπικρανέεσθαι="would be additionally embittered against."

τοὺς διφροφορευμένους="those who were carried about in *palanquins*."

147. Otanes orders a general massacre.

μεμνημένος ἐπελανθάνετο = "though he remembered them, he forgot *them in the execution.*"

παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιῇ = "*proceeded* to send the order *along the line* of his army."

ὁμοίως = "without *discrimination* or *distinction*" = "*all equally.*" Compare the Lat. "pariter."

148, 149. Mæandrius escapes away to Sparta: Syloson left in Samos.

ἀνενεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων, κ.τ.λ. = "and having brought up with him all the property he had, when he departed."

ὅκως ποτήρια, κ.τ.λ. = "as often as he had his cups of silver and gold set before him." See IX. 110.

ὁ δὲ ἂν ἐκέλευε = "he *would* order him," i.e. he was in the *habit* of ordering him. So in III. 51: *ἀπελαύνετ' ἂν* = "he *would* be driven *off*," i.e. he was in the habit of being driven off.

εὑρήσεται τιμωρίην = "he would find assistance for his (plans)." (*τιμωρίην* here = *βοηθείαν.*)

βὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους. Müller (*Dorians*, Vol. II. p. 126) shows from this passage that the Ephori (= "overseers") had the power of expelling suspected foreigners; and therefore that they probably were the chief managers of the Xenelasia.

ὑπακούσαντες = "having heard the *suggestion.*"

σαγηνεύσαντες = "having taken by a drag-net." See VI. 31.

ἐρῆμον ἐοῦσαν ἀνδρῶν. According to Strabo, this depopulation was caused by the excessive tyranny of *Syloson.*

συγκατοίκισε = "joined in having a population settled down in it."

150. The Babylonians revolt.

Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν = "the Babylonians revolted." This took place in the *beginning* of the reign of Darius, according to Clinton. According to Rawlinson, Babylon revolted *twice* from Darius, once in the *first* year, and again in the *fourth* year of his reign.

ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ...ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ. Observe how carefully Herodotus, even in such a sentence as this, carries out the *rule* of giving *ὅσος*, not *ὅσπερ*, and much less *ὅς* or *ὅστις*, as a relative to the *antecedent* *πᾶς* or its compounds. See especially on I. 21.

ἦρχε = "*held* the command," not "*seized* it," which would require *ἔσχε ἀρχὴν* or *ἦρξε*. See on I. 18.

παρεσκευάδατο Ionic = Attic *παρεσκευασμένοι ἦσαν.*

τὰς μητέρας ἐξελόντες = "having made an exception of the *mothers*" (*taking them out* from the rest).

ἀπάσας = "*without* exception," like Lat. "*cunctus*."

ἀπέπνιξαν. Isaiah foretold (xlvii. 9) this massacre: "But these two things shall come to thee in a moment in one day, the *loss of children*, and *widowhood*."

σιτοποιὸν (see VIII. 187) = "*a cook*," or any female servant in a house, whose especial office it was to *grind corn* and *prepare the food*. In the *Hecuba* of Euripides Polyxena puts this down as the first in the catalogue of horrors to be endured by the slave at the hands of her lord:

προσθεὶς δ' ἀνάγκην σιτοποιὸν ἐν δόμοις.

See also Thuc. II. 78; Exod. xi. 5; St Matth. xxiv. 41; and Homer's *Odyss*. XX. 106—110.

ἵνα μὴ ἀναισιμώσωσι = "lest they should *soon use up*" (force of the aorist).

151, 152. Darius goes to Babylon.

φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν, κ.τ.λ. = "(the Babylonians, implied in the preceding Βαβυλῶνα) not at all seriously thinking of the siege."

ἡμίονοι = "half-asses" (ἥμισυς—ὄνος), and so "mules." See Juvenal, XIII. 65:

"Vel miranti sub aratro
Piscibus inventis et *fetæ* comparo *mulæ*."

ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς ἐδύνατο = "but not *even thus* was he able." οὐδὲ is here *emphatic* as well as *negative*.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ. = "yet (he did not succeed), *for* the Babylonians were earnestly on the watch."

153, 154. A mule brings forth a foal, and thus the omen is fulfilled.

τέρας τόδε = "the following *significant* omen."

τὸ βρέφος = "the foal." So Homer, in *Iliad*, XXIII. 266:

ἵππον βρέφος ἡμίονον κυέουσαν.

πρὸς τὰ ῥήματα = "in accordance with the *traditional* sayings."

ἐπεάν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι = "whenever mules, *though mules*, do bring forth."

εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιέεται, κ.τ.λ. = "whether he makes very much of the *immediate* capture of Babylon:" here, as elsewhere, the verb ποιέω is middle when used *periphrastically*. See on I. 21, and III. 25. In English we sometimes apply the verb "make" to *subjective notions* (as ποιέω is in Greek with the middle voice), as in such phrases as "he does not know *what* to *make* of it;" and "he *makes* very much of me." Compare the Lat. "facere" with the genitives of *price*, "magni," "pluris," &c.

ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῷτο = "that he would value it at a high *price*."

κάρτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, κ.τ.λ. = "for amongst the Persians good offices (done to the state) are very much esteemed as conducive to the *furtherance of* (*a man's*) *greatness.*"

εἰ δ' ἑωυτόν. Carry on here the *negative* of the previous sentence, which is necessarily connected with it: *εἰ δὲ* being thus really = *εἰ δὲ μή.*

ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος = "having made *light of it.*" See I. 118. So Soph. *Phil.* 875:

πάντα ταῦτ' ἐν εὐχερεῖ
ἔθου.

μαστιγώσας. Supply *ἑωυτόν.*

155, 156. Zopyrus mutilates himself, and deserts to Babylon.

δοκιμώτατον = "of the highest *repute.*"

ἀνέβωσε Ionic = Attic *ἀνεβόησε* = "sent *up* a cry."

ἐμὲ δή = "a man of *my* rank" (as Blakesley would render it), or "myself, even myself, observe."

ὧδε διαθεῖναι = "thus to have *disposed* of me."

σχετλιώτατε = "most *reckless.*"

οὔνομα τὸ κάλλιστον ἔθευ = "thou hast established for thyself a *most glorious name.*"

παραστήσονται = "will take their stand on our side," i.e. come over to us.

ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν = "sailed out of your senses," i.e. art mad. See VI. 12, and Theocritus, II. 19:

πᾷ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι;

ὑπερτίθεα Ionic = Attic *ὑπερτίθην,* used here as a *pluperfect* = "if I had handed it *over,*" i.e. communicated.

ἢν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ = "unless there be anything wanting now on your side."

ὡς ἔχω = "just as I have myself," i.e. just as I am.

ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην = "*on* the tenth day." So *Alcest.* (Eurip.) 321: *ἐς αὔριον.*

τῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται, κ.τ.λ. = "for which, when lost, there will be no concern." See III. 4, and IX. 8; and observe, *ὤρη* = "care," "concern," but *ὥρη* (with the *aspirate*) = "an hour" or "time."

ἐχόντων = *ἐχέτωσαν.* Compare *λεγόντων,* I. 89; *σωζόντων,* Soph. *Ajax,* 660.

τῶν ἀμυνούντων. Supply *ὅπλων.*

πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων. Observe that *πλὴν* takes the genitive as being derived from *πλέον.*

τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιτράψονται = "will commit all their property to me *in trust.*"

τὰς βαλανάγρας = "the hooks for the bolts," properly "bolt-drawers," which Rawlinson says were very like those used in the East—a straight piece of wood, with upright pins, corresponding with those that fall down into the bolt, and which are pushed up by this key, so as to enable the bolt to be drawn back. See Thuc. II. 4, Arnold's edition.

ἐπιστρεφόμενος = "turning himself round *towards*" (the Persians, to see if he were observed). Compare Zopyrus with Sinon in Virgil's *Æneid*, and especially with Sextus Tarquinius in Livy, I. 53, 54, 55.

ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες, κ.τ.λ. = "having placed *ajar*, just a little, one of the gates."

ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων = "to the public council of the Babylonians." Compare the phrases τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων, τῶν Θετταλῶν, and Cicero's terms, "commune Milyadum, commune Siciliæ," and the French "commune."

ἔφη λέγων = "he went on to say."

καταπροΐξεται = "shall get scot-free." See III. 36.

ἐπίσταμαι δ' αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ. = "and I know all the *ins* and *outs* of his plans."

157, 158. Zopyrus carries out his stratagem, and betrays Babylon to Darius.

τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον = "exhibiting *his own* deeds." See VII. 21, and VI. 119. Observe here the force of the middle, and contrast it with such phrases as παρέχειν τινὶ πράγματα, κ.τ.λ.

πᾶν δὴ ἑτοῖμοι, κ.τ.λ. = "in everything *now* (though *not before*) they were ready to serve him:" here δὴ is in its first and derived sense, from ἤδη.

ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων (the *partitive* genitive) = "having chosen *for his purpose* (ἐπὶ) some of the Babylonians."

εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἰνέοντες = "were ever talking of and praising." *Without* the αἰνέοντες it would mean *censure*, as in VI. 136, where the Athenians are said ἔσχον ἐν στόμασι (*Miltiades*); and compare Homer, *Iliad*, II. 250, and Terence, *Adelphi*, Act 2, Sc. 1: "in ore est omni populo."

πάντα δὴ ἦν = "he was *quite* everything." See I. 122, VII. 56, and Thuc. VIII. 95.

ἐνθαῦτα δὴ = "just here, observe, and *nowhere* else."

ἔμενον...ἕκαστος = "they continued to remain, each of them." The verb is in the plural, because the idea of several subjects is implied with such words as ἕκαστος.

159, 160. Darius takes Babylon, and punishes the inhabitants.

ἀπέσπασε = "wrenched off" (their gates).

τοὺς κορυφαίους = "the *head* men," i.e. the chief men. Grote, Vol. IV. p. 311, quotes from Voltaire a parallel case of extraordinary cruelty,

perpetrated in modern times against the revolted Strelitzes in the year 1698.

ὅσας δὴ, κ.τ.λ. = "assigning a number, whatever it might be, to each." See I. 160.

παρὰ Δαρείῳ κριτῇ = "in *the judgment* of Darius." Compare I. 32: *παρ' ἐμοὶ* = "in my judgment."

γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι = "to have *set forth* this opinion." See IV. 143.

πρὸς τῇ ἐούσῃ = "in *addition to the* one he now had." Observe the force of the *dative* with *ἐπί.*

δῶρα ἐδίδου = "he *used to give* him presents."

καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπέδωκε = "and many other things he gave him, in addition."

BOOK IV. MELPOMENE.

1. Darius undertakes an invasion of Syria.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἵρεσιν = "after the capture of Babylon." Observe as a *general* rule, *μετὰ* with the *acc.* = "*after*;" with a *genitive* = "*along with*;" and with a *dative* case = "*amongst*."

ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἔλασις. Clinton dates this B. C. 508. Grote observes: "There is nothing to mark the *precise* year of the Scythian expedition; but as the accession of Darius is fixed to 521 B. C., and as the expedition is connected with the early part of his reign, we may conceive him to have entered upon it, as soon as his hands were free; that is, as soon as he had put down the revolted satraps and provinces, Orœtes, the Medes, Babylonians; and *five* years seems a reasonable time to allow for these necessities of the empire, which would bring the Scythian expedition to 516—515 B. C. There is reason in supposing it to have been *before* 514 B. C., for in that year Hipparchus was slain at Athens, and Hippias, the surviving brother, looking out for securities and alliances abroad, gave his daughter in marriage to Acantides, son of Hippoklus, despot of Lampsakus, 'perceiving that Hippoklus and his son had great influence with Darius' (Thucyd. VI. 59). Now Hippoklus could not well have acquired this influence *before* the Scythian expedition; for Darius came down then for the first time to the western sea. Hippoklus served upon that expedition (Herod. IV. 130), and it was probably then that his favour was acquired, and farther confirmed during the time that Darius stayed at Sardis after his return from Syria."

δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα = "thirty (years) *wanting* two;" i. e. twenty-eight. Compare the Lat. expressions "*duode*viginti," for *eighteen*, and "*duode*triginta," for *twenty-eight*. *δέοντα* governs the genitive as the participle of *δέω* = "to want;" a *privative* verb.

πόνος = "a *troublesome* (engagement)." See VI. 114.

2. The Scythian treatment of slaves.

τοῦ πίνουσι = attraction of the *relative* into the case of the antecedent (*γάλακτος*) for *ὃ πίνουσι*. Homer (*Iliad*, XIII. 5) calls the Scythians *γλακτοφάγοι* and *Ἱππημολγοί*; this is just the character of the present Calmucks.

φυσητῆρας = "*blow-pipes*."

περιστίξαντες = "having placed them all around, at equal distances." See IV. 202. Eyesight was necessary for *agricultural* slaves but not for *pastoral* slaves, such as these.

δονέουσι = "stir *round*" (so as to form *eddies*).

τὸ ἐπιστάμενον = "that which stands *at the top*;" i. e. the *cream*, yet some say = "koumiss."

3, 4. The revolt of the Scythian slaves, and its suppression.

ἐπετράφη νεότης = "a body of youth *afterwards* sprang up."

ἠντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιοῦσι, κ.τ.λ. = "they proceeded to oppose themselves to them (their masters) on their return from the Medes."

τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην = Latin "Palus Mæotis," now "the Sea of Azof."

οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν = "to gain no further advantage over."

λαβόντα δὲ ἕκαστον, κ.τ.λ. = "but let each one of us take a horsewhip, and go a little *nearer* to them (i. e. the slaves)." The phrase is evidently *euphemistic.*

ὁμοῖοί τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν = "our equals, and of equal descent with ourselves."

συγγνόντες τοῦτο = "and having become *conscious of this.*"

ἐποίευν ἐπιτελέα = "they proceeded to carry these things out *into execution.*"

ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινομένῳ = Lat. "facti percussi" = "thunderstruck (with astonishment) at the deed."

5. Divine origin of the Scythians.

νεώτατον ἁπάντων = "the youngest of all nations, *without exception.*" See I. 34.

Ταργίταον. Some commentators think in this word we may find the root of the word "*Turk.*"

ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὦν = "asserting things which I indeed do not believe, yet, as a *matter of fact,* they do *assert* them." See III. 80.

Λειπόξαϊν, κ.τ.λ. According to some, the ending -xais = "son" (connate with *υἱός*?). At this day, according to Grote (Vol. III. p. 331), the three great tribes of the Nomadic Turcomans, on the north-eastern border of Persia, near the Oxus, the Yamud, the Gohkla, and the Tuhla, assert for themselves a legendary genealogy deduced from *three* brothers.

ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων = "at the time these ruled." This is the usual force of *ἐπὶ* with the genitive of *persons.*

πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνόντας = "having come to an *understanding* about these matters."

6, 7. The different names by which the Scythians are called.

σύμπασι = "to them taken, *all in a body.*"

Σκύθας δὲ Ἕλληνες οὐνόμασαν. Some have supposed the word "*Scythian*" to be connected with the English "*shoot,*" and the old Norse "*shyta.*" Compare the English "ship" as connected with "*skiff,*" from the Greek *σκάφος.* "The Greek word *Σκύθης,*" observes Rawlinson, "is probably nothing more than the Asiatic *Saka* (*Σάκαι*) with an

Ethnic adjectival ending -θης, equivalent to the ordinary -τος or -της, found in so many names of peoples, e.g. Κελτὸς, Γαλάτης, Σπαρτιάτης, Θεσπρωτὸς, Βισάλτης, Φθιώτης, κ.τ.λ. The first vowel has been dropped, and Σακάθης contracted into Σκύθης.

ἱλασκόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. See VI. 69, 2 Kings xviii. 4, and Livy, II. 5.

ἀποκληΐοντα τὴν ὄψιν = "*shutting out* the sight." See IV. 31.

8, 9, 10. The Greek account of the origin of the Scythians.

νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται = (which) "the Scythians now hold as *pasture land*." Hence the term *Nomads*.

Γηρυόνεα. See Livy, Bk. I. 3, and the article "Hercules" in Dr Smith's *Dict. of Biogr.*

Ἐρύθειαν νῆσον = "Isle de Leon" now.

κατυπνῶσαι = "he lay down and slept."

τὴν Ὑλαίην = "Iambrylouk" now.

οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ = "she would not give them up to him." Observe here the *absolute* force of οὐκ with a non-indicative mood.

ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, κ.τ.λ. = "kept putting off the restoration of the mares."

καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον, κ.τ.λ. = "and that he (i.e. Hercules) *was* for taking them away and getting off."

οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοις = "you *could not* possibly err." Observe how ἂν strengthens the negative.

ἐπιστολῆς = Lat. "mandati" = "*commission*." Compare ἐντέλλομαι and τὰ ἐντετάλμενα of the *preceding* chapter, referring to the same circumstances.

ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν = "wear them *hanging down from* their belts."

11. Another account of the Scythians.

ποταμὸν Ἀράξεα = "the Volga," probably.

Κιμμερίων = "Mongolians," according to Niebuhr. Rawlinson, in an interesting appendix to Vol. III., discusses this subject well. Homer (*Odyss.* XI. 13—22), Æschylus, Callinus, and Aristotle, confirm the opinion of Herodotus, of the power of the Cimmerians at an early period, probably the same as the Cimry (Cimbri) and Celts, a view confirmed by Niebuhr. They have left their name in *Cam*bria (Wales), *Cam*brai (in France), *Crim*ea, and *Crim*-Tartary, *Wal*lachia, *Gal*licia, and *Gal*itia. Cornwall is supposed to be the country of the *Welsh* of the Horn (*promontory?*), originally, Cern-Walli.

πρῆγμα εἴη, κ.τ.λ. = "and there was *nothing needed* (to induce them) to run a risk against multitudes."

διαμάχεσθαι = "to fight *to the last.*" Compare the Latin terms "*dimicare*" and "*debellare.*"

Τύρην = "the Dniester."

12. The settlement of the Cimmerians about *Sinope.*

Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος = "the Straits of Kaffa."

Σινώπη πόλις. On the sea-coast of Paphlagonia, now called "*Sinob,*" like the other Greek colonies on the coast of the Black Sea, founded by Miletus, about 632 B.C.

13. The story of Aristeas.

φοιβόλαμπτος = *φοιβόληπτος* = "inspired (*seized,* literally) by Phœbus." Compare the Latin term, "cæritus," from Ceres.

ἄνδρας μουνοφθάλμους. See III. 27.

τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας. See III. 116.

Ὑπερβορέους = "the Hyperboreans," "the people of the *extreme north;*" supposed to be now represented by the Russians and Siberians.

αἰεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι = "from time to time pressed upon those of the neighbouring country."

Ἰσσηδόνας. Supposed to occupy "*Great Tartary.*" See I. 201, and IV. 25.

ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ = "the Euxine," as the *South* Sea here in relation to the Northern Sea, just before mentioned. See III. 115.

14, 15. The story of Aristeas, continued.

Προκοννήσῳ. Was famous for its *marble;* hence its modern name of *Marmora,* and whence the name of the adjacent *Sea* (of *Marmora*). See VI. 33.

Ἀρτάκης. Now "*Artaki,*" near Cyzicus. See VI. 33.

φανέντα ἐς = "having arrived at and shown himself in;" (*pregnant* construction.)

τάδε δὲ οἶδα. Herodotus might well say this, as Metapontum was scarcely a day's journey from Thurium, where he revised, if he did not, as there is reason to believe, write, his history.

Ἰταλιωτέων = "the *Greek settlers* in Italy." *Ἴταλοι* or "Itali" = "the original inhabitants of Italy."

κόραξ, a bird of augury. See IV. 96, and Horace, "*oscinem corvum,*" *Od.* III. 27.

τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα, κ.τ.λ. See 1 Kings xv. 13, 2 Kings xxiii. 6.

16. The extremes of Scythia unknown.

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ = "nay, for *not even.*"

ὅσον...πᾶν εἰρήσεται. See on I. 21.

ἐξικέσθαι = "*to reach*" (*make one's way fully to*). See I. 171. Like the Latin "pervenire."

17, 18, 19, 20. Description of Scythian tribes.

Βορυσθενεϊτέων. The Borysthenes is now called "the *Dneiper*," on whose banks the Callipidæ lived. The Alazones occupied part of Padolia and Braclau, while the agricultural Scythians occupied the *Ukraine.*

τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, κ.τ.λ. = "*practise* all the other things which the Scythians do, *in addition* to (their own customs)."

κρόμμυα = "onions." See Numbers xi. 5, and Herod. II. 125.

ἐπὶ σιτήσει = "for *feeding*" (purposes), and *ἐπὶ πρήσει* = "for selling" (with *a view to*, as an *object*).

Νευροί. In the north of Poland, according to Corbley, who says, the river on which Wilna is built is called *Neris* in the *Lithuanian language.*

παρὰ τὸν Ὕπανιν ποταμὸν = "*along* the banks of the river *Boug.*"

ἡ Ὑλαίη. See 19, 54, 55, 76, Bk. IV. Anciently celebrated for its timber, of which it is now found destitute.

ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ. The city Olbia lay on the right bank of the Hypanis, about six miles above its junction with the Borysthenes.

πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένεα. See IV. 53.

Ἀνδροφάγοι. See IV. 106.

τοῦ Γέῤῥου, now "the Tascenac." See IV. 54, and IV. 101.

τὰ Βασιλήϊα. Supply *χώρια* = "the places (occupied by) the *royal* Scythians." Compare "the Golden Horde" amongst the modern Mongolians (see Grote, Vol. III. p. 320).

Κρημνοὶ = now "Taganrock" (probably).

Μελάγχλαινοι. See IV. 100—110.

λίμναι = now "*Ladoga* and *Onega*," most probably.

21, 22, 23. Other tribes of Scythia described.

λαξίων = "*allotments*," from *λαχ*, as in *ἔλαχον*, aor. of *λαγχάνω*; hence also *Lachesis*, one of the Fates. Compare Horace's *Odes*, III. XXIV.:

"*Campestres* melius *Scythæ*
  Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
Vivunt et *rigidi Getæ*,
  Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
  Nec cultura placet longior annua,
Defunctumque laboribus
  Æquali recreat *sorte* vicarius."

Compare the American and Canadian term "*lot*," for "settlement" or "farm." The "Sarmatians" are the "*Cossacks of the Don*."

Βουδῖνοι. See III. 108. These people occupied the country near the Ural Mountains. The Thyssagetæ = "the Lesser Goths;" Massagetæ = "the Greater Goths," according to Rawlinson.

ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον = "the wind that comes from the quarter whence the sun comes," i.e. the *East.*

ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποισι = "in *the same* places;" mark that αὐτὸς = "ipse," but ὁ αὐτὸς = "idem."

λοχᾷ. Supply ὁ θηρῶν, from ἀπὸ θήρης, which goes before.

ταπεινότητος εἵνεκα = "for the sake of being low."

ἔχεται = "lays *hold of it*" (with a genitive either of *touch* or the *part* (seized)).

λιθώδης = "abounding in *stones*." Latin, "*lapidosus*." Adjectives ending in -ώδης imply *abundance* or *likeness* (from εἶδος).

φαλακροὶ, ἐκ γενεῆς γινόμενοι = "being bald-headed from their birth." Bähr quotes Malte Brun for this practice among the Calmucks of shaving, from the very earliest years, the heads of those who are destined for the *priesthood*. Observe also that the Lamas, the priests of the Calmucks, are bald-headed.

πίλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ = "strong white felt;" from this, Blakesley says, the *Tartar* tents are commonly made.

Ἀργιππαῖοι = "Mongols" (probably).

24, 25. The Scythian and Hellenic merchants the sources of information.

πολλὴ περιφάνεια = "*distinct* intelligence," or still more literally = "a thorough *circumspection* or *investigation*."

τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐθνέων = "of the tribes *in front*."

διαπρήσσονται = "negotiate." The *seven* tribes are supposed to be those just before mentioned by the author himself: the Tauri, Sarmatians, Budini, Geloni, Thyssagetæ, Turcæ, and the Argippæi.

οὔρεα γὰρ ὑψηλά. The Altaic chain of mountains is here most probably alluded to.

οἳ τὴν ἑξάμηνον καθεύδουσι. This probably arose from the report respecting the *six months' duration of the polar darkness.*

Ἰσσηδόνων. These most likely were *Calmucks*. See I. 201.

26. The habits of the Issedones.

ἅτε ἀγάλματι = "as a *votive gift*." The inhabitants of Sumatra in modern times eat their *near relations,* when overtaken by old age and weakness.

τὰ γενέσια (from *γενέσθαι* = "to *have* been," and now no longer) = "the day *kept in commemoration of their death*," as opposed to *τὰ γενέθλια* = "the *birth-day* commemoration."

ἰσοκρατέες δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι. Dr Livingstone, in his *Travels in Africa*, has stated the existence of such a state of things amongst the African tribes: the heirs of Malabar are governed entirely by *women*. Compare also 1 Kings x. 1, respecting "the Queens of the South." See Rawlinson, Vol. III. p. 27, note.

27. The Arimaspi and Griffins.

Ἀριμασπούς. See III. 116, and Æschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus*, 819, and Milton, *Par. Lost*, Bk. II. 943. These people were probably called "one-eyed" from their wearing snow-caps with *one single slit*, serving as an eye-hole, just as the Greenlanders do now.

28. Severity of the climate.

ἀφόρητος οἷος = "*such as to be intolerable.*"

τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν. The genitive here is *partitive*; the *accusative* is expressive here of the *duration* of *time*, more fully expressed at times by *διά*. Blakesley believes that the extension of the winter to *eight* months was owing to the *commercial* season being limited to *four*.

ἡ θάλασσα = "the *Palus Mæotis*."

ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου = "*in the time* of the ice."

ἐν τῷ. Supply *χειμῶνι*.

τὴν μὲν ὡραίην (= *ὕρην*) *κ.τ.λ.* = "it does not rain (there) during the season that it does rain in other countries."

ὕων οὐκ ἀνίει = "it does not *give up* raining."

τηνικαῦτα = "there (in Scythia)."

29, 30. The peculiar cattle.

ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ. IV. 85.

ἀρχὴν = "at all" (when used with a *negative*).

προσθήκας ἐδίζητο = "is wont to seek out for itself *digressions*."

31. The feathers in the air explained.

οὔτε διεξιέναι = "nor to make one's way either in or out (of the country)."

ἐλάσσονι = "in a *less* degree."

εἰκάζοντας = "from *comparison*" (of them to the *snow*).

32. The Hyperboreans.

λέγουσι οὐδὲν = "say nothing to the *purpose*."

Ἡσιόδῳ. None of Hesiod's extant works contain any such allusion.

τῷ ἐόντι = "as a reality." Compare the Latin, "re verâ."

33. The Delian legend.

καλάμῃ πυρῶν = "*wheaten straw.*" By these offerings were probably meant the *first-fruits* of the harvest. See Müller's *Dorians,* Vol. I. p. 343.

ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην. Supply *κόλπον.*

Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Βασιλήϊῃ. The Thracian called this goddess *Bendis.* See Plato's *Pol.* I. p. 327, and see the Article *Bendis* in Dr Smith's *Dict. of Biog. and Myth.*

34. The Delian rites to Hyperoche and Laodice.

παρθένοισι ταύτῃσι...τελευτησάσῃσι = "*in honour* of these maidens who *ended* (their lives)." Supply *τὸν βίον.*

πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι = "cutting off from their own (head) a *curl*" (force of the middle voice).

Ἀρτεμίσιον = "*the temple* of Venus." This ending in *-ιον* is common to the names of temples of the gods and goddesses and other *public buildings* (like *Ὠδεῖον* = "the Music Hall"), from *ἰέναι* = "*to go,*" as the places to which people *went.*

35. Delian legend of Arge and Opis.

πρὸς ἠῶ τετραμμένῃ. Müller thinks this belongs to the Cretan period, as the Dorians buried their dead to the east, and the Ionians to the west.

36. Criticism of Herodotus.

Ἀβάριος λόγον. Blakesley considers Abaris was a priest of Apollo who went on a *begging* pilgrimage, carrying the *arrow* as the sacred symbol of his god.

γελῶ δὲ ὁρέων, κ.τ.λ. = "and I laugh when I see that many people before my time have drawn up charts of the earth, and that without intelligence to explain them."

Ἀσίην. Homer knew nothing of *Asia* as a division of the world, any more than of *Europe* or Libya. The word "*As,*" so common among various Asiatic tribes, or those of Asiatic origin, is supposed to refer to the *Sun,* especially as an object of worship; so that the Asians are the people of the *Sun,* or the people from the East, the land of the Sun.

"'Tis the clime of the *East,* 'tis *the land of the Sun.*"

The correlative derivation of *Europa* from the Phœnician and Hebrew root *Ereb, Oreb,* or Erop (not unknown to the Indo-European languages), signifying the *Evening, Sunset,* and hence "*the West;*" thus the Greeks distinguished the relative positions of Europe and Asia as the West and the East. The earliest allusions to this distinction are found in the authors of the first half of the fifth century B.C. See Pindar, *Olymp.* VII. 33; *Pyth.* IV. 6, 42, 259; IX. 57, 71, 109; *Isth.* III. 72; Æsch. *Prom.* 412, 730—735; *Frag.* 177; *Supplices,* 284;

Eum. 292. "I wonder," Herod. says (IV. 42), "at those who distinguish and divide Libya, Asia, and Europe (i.e. *as if they were equal or nearly so*)," &c. Libya has been derived from λίβα = "*moisture*," or "south wind," so that Libya meant "*the land of the South*;" because the south wind brought *moisture*, it was called the "*moist* wind." Compare the Hebrew "Lubim," Greek λείβω. "Africa" has been derived from the Arabic root "furah" = "to separate," "the land *far away*" (compare ἀπία γῆ).

ἐς γραφὴν = "by *entering into a description*," or "in figure."

37, 38, 39, 40, 41. Herodotus' geographical system of Asia.

τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν = "the sea south" (of the Persians) = the Arabian Ocean.

τὴν βορηΐην θάλασσαν. The Euxine Sea.

ἀκταὶ = "sea-coasts," or tracts by sea.

Σιγείου τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ. Adjacent to Mount Ida, now called *Yenisheri*. See Herod. V. 65, 94; Thucyd. VIII. 101.

τρία μοῦνα. Some say these are Assyria, Syria, and Arabia. Blakesley says, Phœnicians, Assyrians, and Arabians.

Ἀράξης. See I. 201.

ἐρῆμος, that of *Cobi.*

Λιβύη = "all Africa" here. See II. 16.

ἡ ἀκτή. This term, *with the article* prefixed, is said to be a *technical geographical term*, defining a large square extent of continent, having *three sides washed by the sea*, and the *fourth side not touched by any sea.* See Niebuhr's diagram, illustrating Herodotus' geographical system, as quoted by Blakesley. The word *Attica* is supposed to come from ἀκτὴ = "the *coast-land*."

τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης = "the Mediterranean," "our sea." Compare the Lat. "nostrum mare," for the same sea.

Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. The Arabian Gulf.

42, 43. Circumnavigation of Africa.

φθινόπωρον = "late autumn;" literally, "the *waning* of the autumn."

σπείρεσκον ... μένεσκον. These suffixes (-σκον) mark the *habit* or *custom.*

οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον (= ἡ Λιβύη ἐγνώσθη ἐοῦσα περίρρυτος), κ.τ.λ. These Carthaginians, to whom Herodotus here alludes, told him that Libya was circumnavigable: but it does not seem that they knew of any other actual circumnavigation except that of the Phœnicians sent by Nekôs; otherwise Herodotus would have made some allusion to it, instead of proceeding, as he does immediately, to tell the story of the Persian Sataspês, who tried and failed. Some critics have construed the words, in which Herodotus alludes to the Carthaginians as his informants, as if what they told him was the story of the fruit-

less attempt made by Sataspês. But this is evidently not the meaning of the historian; he brings forward the opinion of the Carthaginians as confirmatory of the statement made by the Phœnicians employed by Nekôs. The statement that they had the sun on their *right* hand (i. e. to the northward) is just the point that confirms its truth; for this phenomenon, observable according to the season even when they were within the tropics, could not fail to force itself on their attention as constant, after they had reached the southern temperate zone. See Grote, Vol. III. pp. 378, 379.

Καρχηδόνιοί εἰσι, κ.τ.λ. This must have been after the failure of *Sataspês.* He obviously means to say that there were *three* commonly alleged circumnavigations of *Africa*—that under the auspices of Necho, being the first, and the second (that by Sataspês) being in fact an abortive attempt;—so that really the next after Necho who asserted themselves to have accomplished the feat were the Carthaginians. See Blakesley.

οἱ λέγοντες. Supply *αὐτὴν περίρρυτον εἶναι.*

ἐσθῆτι φοινικηΐῃ="in garments made of *palm-leaves.*" Mark that *φοινίκεος* would be="*crimson.*"

τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσω, κ.τ.λ. Grote (Vol. III. 383) observes that "two things are to be remarked in respect to this voyage: 1. He took with him a ship and seamen from Egypt; we are not told that they were Phœnician; probably no other mariners than Phœnicians were competent to such a voyage—and even if the crew of Sataspês had been Phœnicians, he could not offer rewards for success equal to those at the disposal of Nekôs. 2. He began his enterprise from the Strait of Gibraltar instead of from the Red Sea. Now it seems that the current between Madagascar and the Eastern coast of Africa sets very strongly towards the Cape of Good Hope, so that while it greatly assists the southerly voyage, on the other hand, it makes return by the same way very difficult." Strabo, however, affirms that all those who had tried to circumnavigate Africa, both from the Red Sea and the Strait of Gibraltar, had been forced to return without success, so that most people believed there was a continuous isthmus which rendered it impracticable to go by sea from one point to the other. He is himself however persuaded that the Atlantic is *σύρρους* on both sides of Africa, and therefore that circumnavigation is possible. He as well as Poseidonius disbelieved the tale of the Phœnicians sent by Nekôs. It is worth while remarking that Strabo cannot have read the story in Herodotus with much attention, since he mentions *Darius* as the king who sent the Phœnicians round Africa, not Nekôs; nor does he take notice of the remarkable statement of these navigators respecting the position of the sun."

44, 45. Further geographical discussions.

τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ="the *particular point* where it empties itself into the sea."

ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθηΐην ἐρέειν, κ.τ.λ. = "(in whom) he reposed confidence that they would tell the truth, and especially Scylax." *ἐρέω* has always a *future* sense.

Κασπατύρου = "Cabul" (probably).

τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχρᾶτο = "and made this sea available *for his own purposes.*"

ὁκόθεν τὸ οὔνομα, κ.τ.λ. According to Hesiod, Europa was one of the Oceanides (see *Theogony*, 357). The name is not found either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, but in the *Hymn to Apollo*, 250, 290.

νομιζομένοισι. Supply *ὀνόμασι.*

46, 47. The character of the Pontine tribes.

ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὔξεινος = "the Black Sea;" anciently called *Ἄξεινος* = "the *inhospitable*" sea.

> "Frigida me cohibent Euxini littora Ponti,
> Dictus ab antiquis Axenus ille fuit."

It owed its *inhospitable* character to the *bad* weather frequent to it, and to the reputed *cannibalism* of its northern Scythian coasters. Its name was no doubt changed when it was opened up to Greek commerce and navigation. Homer seems not to have known it. Pindar calls it by both names; *Pyth.* IV. 362, *Nem.* IV. 79. By the Turks it is called "*Karadenghez*," by the modern Greeks "Maurethalassa," and by the Russians "Czarne-More." Miletus sent many colonies to its coasts. It was the shape of a Scythian bow. The Euxine and Mæotis taken together are about one twenty-fourth larger than the Caspian. It is thought that once the Euxine and the Caspian were united.

φερέοικοι. Compare Horace, *Odes*, III. 24. 10, of the "Campestres Scythæ, quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos;" and Æschyl. *Prometh.* 709, and 734—739.

ἱπποτοξόται = "*horse-archers.*" See Thucyd. II. 96, and Ovid's *Trist.* III. 10. 54.

κῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴησαν, κ.τ.λ. See Thucyd. II. 97.

ἄποροι προσμίσγειν = "difficult to come to close quarters with."

Ἴστρος = "the *Danube.*" The Tanais = "*the Don.*"

48, 49. The Danube and its feeders.

καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος = "both in summer and in winter." The genitive of time in Greek is really *elliptical*. Supply *διὰ χρόνον.*

Πόρατα = "the Pruth," probably.

Τιαραντὸς = "the Alonta," according to Niebuhr.

Σκίος ποταμὸς = "the Ishar." According to Rawlinson this is untrue, as no stream forces its way through this chain of mountains. The Scius rises on the northern flank of Mount Hæmus, exactly opposite to the point where the range of Rhodope (Despoto Dagh) branches out

from it towards the south-east. From the two opposite angles made by the Rhodope with Hæmus spring the two streams of Hebrus and Nestus. Hence it appears that Thucydides is more accurate than Herodotus when he says of the Scius or Oseius: *ῥεῖ δ' ουτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ὅθεν περ καὶ ὁ Νέστος καὶ ὁ Ἕβρος* (II. 96).

50. Nile and Danube compared.

ἐς πλῆθος = "(going) *into the question of extent.*"

νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χρέεται. Supply *ἡ γῆ* = "and the land is perfectly familiar with snow."

λάβροι = "violent" (= "seizing and carrying off," from *λαμβάνω*). Compare the Latin "*ferox,*" from "*fero.*"

ἀντιτιθέμενα δὲ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. = "and these things being set against each other, the *balance is restored,* so that an evident equality arises."

51, 52. The rivers Tyras and Hypanis.

Τύρης = "*the Dniester.*" See IV. 11.

μεγάθεϊ σμικρὴ ἐοῦσα = "being actually small in size."

Ἐξαμπαῖος. According to Rawlinson from "*exan*" or "*hexan,*" connected with the *Sanscrit accha* = Greek *ἁγία,* Lat. "*sacra,*" English "*hallowed,*" and from "*pai*" or "pais" = Sanscrit "patha," Greek *πάτος,* German "pfad," and our own "path" and "pad." Some would render it *Hexenpfad* = "*witches' path.*" See Donaldson's *Varronianus,* p. 39.

συνάγουσι = "contrahunt" = "*contract.*"

53. The Borysthenes.

τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἷά τε, κ.τ.λ. = "for it is not possible to compare any other river with this;" i.e. the Nile.

συμβαλλέειν. Compare the Lat. "*conferre,*" *to put together for the sake of comparison.*

ἀρίστους διακριδὸν, κ.τ.λ. = "*distinguished* for their excellence and numbers."

ῥέει τε καθαρὸς, κ.τ.λ. = "and it flows in a *clear stream* among troubled and muddy waters."

ἔμβολον = "a *tongue* of land" (literally, "a beak," Lat. "rostrum").

54, 55, 56, 57, 58. Other rivers described.

Παντικάπης = "Desna," probably, while the Hypacyris was the "*Kanilshak,*" and the Gerrhus the *Tasczenac.*

οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι. According to Strabo these inhabited the *Tauric Peninsula.* See VII. 4.

Ὕργις = "Seviersky," probably.

ἐπιχολωτάτῃ = "has the greatest *tendency* to produce bile." The force of ἐπὶ here, as elsewhere, with adjectives marks a *tendency* towards (an end).

ἀνοιγομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι κτήνεσι = "and by opening up the carcases of beasts it is possible *to weigh the matter for oneself*, and (infer) that the thing is so (as we have stated)."

59, 60, 61. Scythian peculiar customs.

εὔπορα = "plentiful;" literally = "with ways and means (πόρος) to obtain."

Θεοὺς μὲν μούνους, κ.τ.λ. = "and these indeed are *the only Gods* whom they appease" (with sacrifices). Compare the use of "*solus*" in Latin = "*the only one who.*"

Ζεὺς Παπαῖος = "Father Zeus." Compare the Latin *Juppiter*, Jeus or Zeus, *pater*, Dies-piter. (Compare πάππας = "papa" in English.) Homer and Virgil make Jupiter "*the father*" (of gods and men), and Aratus, quoted by St Paul (Acts xvii. 28), has τοῦ (i.e. of Zeus) γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. The root *pa* or *pi* marks the notion of *father* in all the Indo-European languages; as Sanscrit "pitâ," Persian "pita," Greek πατήρ, Lat. "pater," Italian "padre," German "vater," English "father," &c.

Ἀπία. Part of the Peloponnesus once so called. See Æschyl. *Supp.* 260. The Apian land of Homer is the "*far-away land*" (from ἀπό).

Ἀρτίμπασα = "Artemis," is a corrupted form.

Θαμιμασάδας = "Thammuz" of *Ezekiel* (viii. 14), and Ταβιτὶ = "*Tophet*" (2 Kings xxiii. 10). According to Blakesley's conjectures, Creuzer would deduce Zend Tabiti from "tabat," heated; Papæeus from Baba, Father; Apia, the Earth Goddess, from Apria, "dust;" Œtosyros, Apollo, from dœthu, "an eye" (of day).

αὐτὸ = "by itself," without any one to compel it. See v. 85. Compare the use of "ipse" in Lat. = "sponte suâ," as Virgil, *Bucol.* IV. 21:

> "*Ipsæ* lacte domum referent distenta capellæ
> Ubera."

The *willingness* of the victim was esteemed a lucky omen in a sacrifice.

περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε = "threw around *without delay*."

ἢν μὲν τύχωσι ἔχοντες = "if they happen to have them."

ἢν = ἐὰν = εἰ ἂν = "*if probably*," or "*supposing, if*."

ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα = "they burn the bones beneath." See Ezekiel xxiv. 5: "Take the choice of the flock, and *burn also the bones under it*, and make it boil well, and let them seethe the bones of it therein."

ἀπαρξάμενος, κ.τ.λ. = "and having taken part of the sacrifice to *begin the offering with*." This was for the god, who is supposed to be present, though unseen. Compare Horace: "Ante Larem gustet vene-

rabilior Lare dives." By the term *κατάρχεσθαι* is meant the dedication *once for all* (*downright*) of the *whole* victim.

πρόβατα = "cattle."

62, 63. Mode of sacrifice to Ares, the god of war.

ἀρχηΐων = "where the *magistrates assemble*."

φάκελοι = Lat. "fasciculi," "*faggots*."

Ἄρηος τὸ ἄγαλμα. According to Niebuhr, the worship of the god of war under the symbol of the scimitar was a *Mongolic* custom.

ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. See III. 11.

σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ = "*arms and all*," not "*hands* and all," says Blakesley, and rightly, who quotes Eurip. *Heracles*, 740.

ἀπέρξαντες, κ.τ.λ. = "and, in the next place, after putting an end to the offering of all the other sacrifices, they take themselves off."

νομίζουσι, with the dative = *χρῶνται* = "*habitually use*." See IV. 117, and Thucyd. III. 82, and II. 44.

64, 65. Ferocity of the Scythians.

κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ βασιλέϊ = "he bears off the heads for their king" (for the same custom among the Gauls, see Arnold's *Rome*, Vol. I. p. 539).

λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσείει = "and having taken hold of the skin, he shakes it off from the skull."

ἦν ἄρα = *ἔμελλε ἄρα ἔσεσθαι*, according to Blakesley, who thus renders the whole passage: "But human skin being both thick and shiny, would of course be calculated to take the brightest appearance in point of whiteness of almost all skins."

περιχρυσώσας = "having set *in gold*;" literally, "having put gold around it."

τῶν οἰκηΐων = "their *relations*" (those of their own household).

66. Annual festival of warriors.

κιρνᾷ κρητῆρα οἴνου = "mixes a mixing-cup of wine."

τῶν Σκυθέων, κ.τ.λ. = "those of the Scythians drink by whom the enemies may have been taken off (i.e. killed) in war." The genitive is here partitive.

ἠτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται = "being disgraced, they sit apart from each other."

67. Scythian soothsayers.

ἐπὶ μίαν ἑκάστην ῥάβδον = "*each staff by itself*." See Thucyd. IV. 43, and see Ezekiel xxi. 21, and Tacitus, *German.* 10, and Virgil's *Æn.* VI. 74, and Hosea ii. 12.

φιλύρης ὦν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται = "and *as a fact* they conduct their divinations by means of the bark of the linden-tree."

τρίχα σχίσῃ. See Virgil's *Bucolics*, VIII. 77, and *Hymn to Hermes*, 530.

68. Soothsaying over the illness of the chieftains.

τοὺς εὐδοκιμέοντας μάλιστα = "those who are in the highest *repute*."

ἐπίπαν = "*generally*" (properly, "*looking at the thing as a whole*").

ὃς καὶ ὅς = "such and such," or "this and that one."

διαλελαμμένος ἄγεται = "he is taken from among them, and dragged away." See note on I. 114.

δεινολογέεται = "complains loudly," "considers it a *hard* and dreadful thing."

καταδήσωσι = "bind down to." See II. 174.

69. The false soothsayers burnt.

στομώσαντες = "having gagged them," to prevent their uttering curses. Compare Æsch. *Ag.* 236: *στόματος καλλιπρώρου φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν, φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἴκοις, βίᾳ χαλίνων τ' ἀναύδῳ μένει.*

ῥυμὸς = "that by which a carriage *is drawn* (*ῥύομαι*)," and so a *pole*.

70. Method of pledging faith.

αἷμα συμμίσγουσι, κ.τ.λ. See I. 74, and III. 11, and Sallust's account of the Catiline conspirators: "fuere qui dicerent eum humani *corporis sanguinem vino permixtum* in pateris circumtulisse: inde cum post exsecrationem omnes *degustassent*, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum."

ἐπιταμόντες = "having cut the *surface*." Compare the Lat. "*incidere*," and the Eng. "*incision*."

71. How the chiefs are buried.

ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων. See *Iliad*, II. 793, and X. 414, and Herod. V. 94. These tombs are probably the barrows (tumuli) scattered up and down from the Wolga to the Lake Baikal.

κατακεκηρωμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα = "with the body completely covered over with wax." See I. 140.

τοῦ ὠτὸς ἀποτάμνονται, κ.τ.λ. = "they cut off *part* of the ear (partitive genitive), they clip the hair all round (the head), and they make incisions all over the arms; they lacerate the forehead and the nostril, and pass arrows through the left hand." See Dr Livingstone's *Travels in Africa*, Chap. XXIV. p. 488.

ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ, κ.τ.λ. See Herod. V. 5, 8, and Arnold's *Roman History*, Vol. II. p. 537; and compare the slaughter of the twelve Trojan princes over the funeral pile of Patroclus, and also the sacrifice of Polyxena to the ghost of Achilles in Eurip. *Hecuba*.

ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν, κ.τ.λ. Blakesley says, "this must mean that they

do not use either silver or bronze *in commerce*: for their arms would doubtless be of the latter."

72. Cruel customs connected with their funerals.

ἀψῖδος δὲ ἥμισυ, κ.τ.λ. = "having placed the half of a wheel, with the concave side uppermost, upon two stakes."

αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἀψῖδες = "the foremost part of the half wheels."

ἐπεὰν νεκροῦ, κ.τ.λ. = "whenever they have driven a straight stake along the spine up to the neck of the corpse, and they fix the end of it, which comes out below beyond the body, they fasten into a hole belonging to the other stake, which passes through the horse." *τόρμον* = *τρῆμα* = "a socket formed by *boring* (*τείρω*)." The root "*tor*," or "*ter*" (compare English "turning"), is common to Greek and Latin, as "*tor*nus," *τόρνος*, *τέρμα*, *ter*o, *τείρω*, *κ.τ.λ.*

κύκλῳ τὸ σῆμα = "around that tomb." Here *κύκλῳ* = *περί*.

73. How the mourners are purified.

ὑποδεκόμενος = "receiving in *silence*." Compare Lat. "*sub*" in composition.

συμφράξαντες = "having packed them as closely as possible."

διαφανέας = "of a *transparent* (heat)."

74, 75. Hemp grown there; its uses.

κάνναβις = "*hemp*" (the English word no doubt comes through the Teutonic "*hanf*").

αὐτομάτη = Lat. "sponte suâ," "*all* or *quite* of its own accord."

ὅστις μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἴη αὐτῆς = "whoever is not very *familiar with* it," literally, "*rubbed up* in it," from constant *handling*; the origin of the word is from *τρίβω*. Compare the English "*trite*," from Latin "*tero*."

ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρίῃ, ὠρύονται = "and exulting in the bath they shriek aloud" (with joy), on getting rid of the mosquitoes in this way, say Clarke's *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 59. Niebuhr thinks this was an attempt to produce intoxication, the "bang" which is now used for that purpose by their descendants is certainly produced by *hemp*.

76. The Scythian aversion to foreign customs.

καὶ οὗτοι = "these persons, too, (as well as others)." Observe (1), *as here*, the *accumulative* sense of *καί*, (2) *emphatic* = "even," (3) as *connective* = "and," or "both," or "also." See II. 91.

ὡς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσις = "as they showed *in the case of Anacharsis*," who flourished about 600 B.C.

Κύζικον. See IV. 14.

τῇ Μητρί. Cybele. See IV. 53.

σῶς καὶ ὑγιὴς = "safe and sound."

κατὰ τὰ ὥρα—here the article is *demonstrative* and *relative*, as in Homer = "according to those (things) which he saw." See II. 99, V. 112, and VI. 88.

Ὑλαίην. See IV. 54.

ἐς ταύτην δὴ = "now observe, to this."

ἐκδησάμενος = "and having fastened upon his person" (so that they *hung* from it). Observe the force of the *middle voice* as well as the force of the preposition in composition.

ἐπιτρόπου = "the steward," not "*the guardian*," acc. to Niebuhr.

77. The Hellenic story of Anacharsis.

καίτοι = "and yet," Lat. "*atqui*," properly *καὶ τῷ* = "*in this respect too*," always a *corrective* particle, implying that something besides must be considered, which is likely to modify the preceding statement. See III. 15.

ἤδη ἤκουσα = "*before this time* I have heard." See VI. 84.

ὁ λόγος ἄλλως = "this story *without reason*."

πέπαισται = *παιδίας χάριν πέπλασται*.

78, 79, 80. Fate and career of Scyles.

μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον = "but afterwards in succeeding time." Observe the *adverbial* force of *μετά*. Compare the Lat. "post" = postea.

τελευτᾷ δόλῳ ὑπὸ = "ends (his life) at the hands of—treacherously." Many neuter verbs, and verbs *used as neuters*, are *constructed* as passives, with *ὑπὸ* and a governed genitive case. The more common words, with such a construction, are *ἐκπίπτειν, ἀποθανεῖν, ἀναστῆναι*.

τὸ Βορυσθενεϊτῶν ἄστυ. This was *Olbia*, a colony from *Miletus*. See IV. 17.

γυναῖκα ἔγημε ἐς αὐτὰ (supply) *δώματα*, the construction is pregnant = "he married a wife, and led her to his home."

ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι. See I. 126, and compare 1 Kings ii. 17—25, Lev. xviii. 8.

καταφεύγει = "flies *for refuge*," hence *καταφυγὴ* = "a place of refuge."

εἶς μὲν = "*thou art* really." Observe the breathing rough when *εἷς* = "*one*."

Σιτάλκης. See Thuc. II. 29, and IV. 101. Herod. VII. 137. He died B. C. 424.

περιστέλλουσι (see I. 98) = "*fence round*" (with sanctions).

81. The census of the Scythians.

ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι = "for Scythians, there were few of them." See II. 8, and II. 135.

'Αριαντάν. Ritter connects him with Asia-Bactra, the country of the worshippers of Buddha.

82. Print of the foot of Hercules.

ἴχνος Ἡρακλέος. See II. 91. Ritter thinks he discovers here an allusion to the sacred sandal of Buddha, which appeared after the great deluge, the track of which is still shown in Ceylon.

83. Darius prepares for his Scythian expedition.

τὴν ἀπορίην = "the difficulty in finding ways and means among the Scythians." See Thuc. IV. 32.

Σούσων, now "*Sus*," acc. to Rennell. See V. 49, 53.

84. The cruelty of Darius.

καταλειφθῆναι = "should be left behind to him."

ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ = "having been slaughtered on the spot." Supply τοῦ τόπου.

ταύτῃ ἐλίποντο = "in this place or way they were left." Supply ὁδῷ. See VII. 38, 39, and V. 92.

85. Darius arrives at the Bosphorus.

τὰς Κυανέας (supply πέτρας) = "the dark-blue Rocks." These were two small *rocky* islands, just at the entrance of the Euxine, now called Arek-Jaki, anciently the *Symplegades* (the *Dashers*), said to move and roam about (πλαγτὰς, from πλάζομαι).

ἐπὶ τῷ ἱρῷ. This is supposed to be the temple of Zeus Urius (οὔριος), the God of *favourable* voyages (from οὖρος, a favourable wind).

ἐθηεῖτο = "he continued to gaze upon" (intensive form).

πελαγέων γὰρ ἁπάντων, κ.τ.λ. = "for of all deep seas *without exception* it is the most wonderful." See I. 34. Observe that Herodotus is about right in his dimensions of the *Bosphorus*, though when he comes to the Propontis his dimensions are very much too great.

86. Herodotus' method of measurement of seas.

νηῦς ἐπίπαν, κ.τ.λ. = "a ship *generally* completes in a long day's (sailing) somewhere about."

ἕνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων = "1,110,000 fathoms."

Σινδικῆς, on the mouth of *Kouban*. See IV. 28.

87. Darius sails to Mandrocles' bridge.

ἐπ' αὐτῷ = "upon the coast."

ἐς μὲν τὴν (στήλην) = "upon the one column."

'Ασσύρια γράμματα. No doubt of the Babylonish arrow-headed characters, which have been recently deciphered.

ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσαπερ ἦγε = "*the exact* number of all the nations which he was leading." Observe the force of precision given by *περ*, and see note on I. 21.

τῆς Ὀρθωσίης Ἀρτέμιδος = "Diana who had *established* or preserved their city." Compare the Lat. "Jupiter Stator."

ὁ χῶρος τὸν ἔζευξε. This bridge is supposed to have been constructed where the towers of Rumili-Eshi-Hissar now stand on the European side, and Anadoli-Eshi-Hassar on the Asiatic side.

88. Mandrocles rewarded by Darius, and makes an offering.

τῇ σχεδίῃ = "with the *rafted* bridge."

ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα = "presented him *with ten of everything.*" See I. 50, III. 140.

ζῶα γραψάμενος = to the more developed and later form *ζωγραψάμενος* = "having had painted *from the life*" (the whole passage), &c.

ἰχθυόεντα = "*piscosum,*" Lat. "*abounding* in fish." Adjectives in Greek ending in *-εις*, and in Latin in *-osus*, express *abundance.*

κατὰ νοῦν = Lat. "ex sententia" = "to *the satisfaction of.*"

89, 90. Darius marches into Thrace.

ἔπλεε ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἴστρου = "proceeded to sail *directly* to the Danube."

ἀναπλώσας...πλόον—the accusative of the *cognate* word.

Τεάρου = "Teara," or "Dera," *now.*

ἐς ἄκεσιν φέροντα (see III. 133) = "*conducive* to healing."

Ἀπολλωνίης, afterwards called "Sozopolis," now "Sizeboli." The Contaderdus is now Kutschakden acc. to *Mannert.*

Ἀγριάνης = "*Erzene*" now, while *Ἕβρον* = "*Maritza.*" These rivers form a junction about ten miles to the south of Adrianople.

91. An inscription of Darius at Tearus.

στήλην ἔστησε = "*he set up a column.*" Observe the *transitive* notion of the Aor. I. of *ἵστημι*, and its compounds.

92. Remains on the bank of the Artiscus.

Ἀρτισκὸς = "The Arda."

παρεξιόντα = "as he passed by and out."

χωρίον = "a *little place*" = "*spot.*" The *χώρος* was greater, = "a place," while *χῶρα*, still greater, = Lat. "*regio,*" "*a country.*"

κολωνοὺς = "hills," mounds, hence the Lat. "*collis.*"

93. The Getæ first oppose Darius.

τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας = "those who consider themselves *immortal.*"

Σαλμυδησσὸν = "*Midja.*"

Γέται = the modern "*Dacians.*"

ἀγνωμοσύνην = "a *senselessness* of existence."

94. Story of Zalmoxis.

διὰ πεντετηρίδος, κ.τ.λ. = "every *four* years they chose out a messenger by lot and send him off to Zalmoxis, telling him the details of their wants."

95. Zalmoxis said to have been a slave of Pythagoras.

δουλεῦσαι. Thracian slaves were very common in Greece, and the Thracians very often sold their children for slaves (v. 6). Compare *Geta* and *Davus* in Terence.

χρήματα κτήσασθαι = "made money for himself" (as we say).

ὑπαφρονεστέρων = "rather more unintellectual."

ἤθεα βαθύτερα = "deeper habits (of thought)."

πιθανὰ = "*credible.*" Adjectives ending in -νὸς, -ίνος, -εννὸς, (= Lat. "*-andus*") mark a *passive* and *intransitive* sense, as ποθεινὸς = Lat. "desiderandus," "that must be longed for," πιθανὸς = "that which one must or should believe."

96. Herodotus' view of the story.

Πυθαγόρεω. This philosopher was born about 570 B.C., and flourished in the time of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, and the last of the Tarquins at Rome, B.C. 540—510.

97. The Getæ resist in vain.

ἀποδέκεσθαι Ionic = ἀποδέχεσθαι Attic.

ἀρηρομένον (Ionic = ἠρομένον, from ἀρόω) = "(no part) ploughed."

ἑστάναι (for ἑστηκέναι) = "to continue standing."

καὶ ἤν τε κατὰ νόον πρήξωμεν = "and if we should fare *to our satisfaction*" (ἤν = ἐάν).

ἄποδος Ionic = Attic ἄφοδος = "a means of going off," i.e. *retreat.*

μὴ, οὐ δυνάμενοι = "under no circumstances, *possible* or *conceivable,* being able." μὴ = the negation of the probable or conceivable, οὐκ = the negation of the actual.

γνώμην ἐς μέσον φέρω = "I bring forward my opinion *for the public good.*" Compare Virgil's *Æn.* XI. 335: "Consulite *in medium,* et rebus succurrite fessis."

ἕψομαι . . . λειφθείην. Observe how the optative softens down the positive implied in the future indicative. See *Iliad,* II. 158.

98. Darius leaves the Ionians to watch the bridge.

ἀπάψας ἅμματα = "having *knotted knots*" (the accusative of the *cognate word*). ἀπάψας Ionic = Attic ἀφάψας, and with this passage compare Livy, VII. 3.

99. Description of the sea-coast of Scythia.

κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης = "the land running round into a bay."

αὕτη ἤδη ἀρχαίη Σκυθική = "it is from this point now that this old Scythia begins."

τὸν γουνὸν = "the highland," or "promontory." Compare Soph. *Ajax*, *ἵν' ὑλᾶεν ἔπεστι πόντου πρόβλημ' ἀλίκλυστον, ἄκραν ὑπὸ πλάκα Σουνίου*, and Dr Chandler's *Travels*, "We now approach Cape Sunium, which is *steep, abrupt*, and rocky;" and compare Byron's lines,

"Place me on Sunium's rocky brow," &c.

100, 101. Description continued.

τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἠοίης = "the Eastern sea-board." Blakesley here remarks, "The sea of Azof and the Bosphorus seem to be conjointly described as the eastern sea in opposition to the sea to the west of the Crimea. The Euxine itself was in after times considered to be divided into an easterly and westerly portion by a line drawn from *κριοῦ μέτωπον* (the Ram's head), the southernmost point of the Crimea, to Cape Carambis in Paphlagonia. It was said that navigators passing between often saw the two points simultaneously."

ὡς ἐούσης τετραγώνου = "as it was really a square."

ἐπικάρσια = "at an angle." See I. 180, and *Odyssey*, IX. 70.

102. The Scythians attempt a confederacy against Darius.

δόντες σφίσι λόγον = "having given themselves up to consideration," i.e. having reasoned with themselves.

ἰθυμαχίῃ = "*in a stand-up fight*."

103, 104, 105. Habits of the Tauri, Agathyrsi, and Neuri.

τῇ Παρθένῳ = to Iphigenia Taurica. See Eurip. *Iphig. Taur*. 38, 39.

'Αγάθυρσοι = "the Hungarians," acc. to some.

Θρήϊξι προσκεχωρήκασι = "they have gone over to the Thracians" (in all their other customs).

Νευροί. See IV. 17, and Grote, *Greek Hist*. Vol. III. p. 325.

κινδυνεύουσι δὲ, κ.τ.λ. = "and these men run the risk of being considered conjurors."

ἅπαξ = "once for all," "*once and no more than once*."

λύκος γίνεται. Creuzer considers the "*wolf*" as the symbol of the *Sun*. Blakesley thinks we have here the superstition of the *wehr-wolf*, so common to all countries where the wolf was found. See Virgil's *Bucolics*, VIII. 97.

106, 107. Of the Scythian cannibals and the Melanchlæni.

οὔτε δίκην νομίζοντες = "neither *accustomed to believe* in a principle of *right*."

οὔτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι = "and not using any law" (in their dealings with each other).

γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίην. Supply *ἔχουσι* from the previous verb *φορέουσι,* which in the zeugma does *double duty,* firstly, for itself with *respect to εἵματα,* secondly, for *ἔχουσι* with respect to *γλῶσσαν.*

ἐπ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι. Acc. to Blakesley a tribe exists in the Hindoo Koosh called Siah-poosh = *μελάγχλαινοι,* from the *black* sheep-skins which they wear.

108, 109. Of the Budini, and their city.

γλαυκόν τε πᾶν, κ.τ.λ. Compare Tacitus' description of the Germans, "truces et cærulei oculi: rutulæ comæ."

δὴ αὐτόθι = "on this *very* spot, *observe.*"

καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μοῦνοι, κ.τ.λ. = "and they are *the only people* of those in this quarter who eat lice (raw or alive)." Ritter would make *φθεῖρες* the seeds of the fir cone. Yet see IV. 168, and the confirmation by Mela and Pliny.

οὐδὲν τὴν ἰδέην ὁμοῖοι, κ.τ.λ. = "and in *no respect* like them (the Budini) in *figure* or even in *complexion.*"

θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα. Blakesley takes these puzzling animals to be "*seals,*" found in the Caspian and in the mouths of the Wolga, the *skins of which* would come by the same route as the musk-bags and otter and beaver-skins.

περὶ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται = "are sewed round, as a fringe, about their woollen mantles." See Tacitus, *Germania,* cap. 27, and Euripides, *Bacchæ,* 109.

ὄρχιες, "*the bags of* the musk-deer."

110—117. The Sauromatæ connected with the Amazons.

ὅτε Ἕλληνες, κ.τ.λ. See *Iliad,* III. 189. The Villoison Scholiast on this passage makes the Amazons daughters of *Ares* and Armenia, a Naiad goddess. Müller considers them the female attendants of the goddess Diana (of Ephesus), the native place of the goddess being Cappadocia.

Οἰόρπατα. Ritter makes *οἰὸρ* = Lat. "*vir,*" and Sanscrit "*viroh,*" while *πατα* = "*to kill.*" Creuzer would make them worshippers of the *moon,* from the Circassian word "maza" = "*the moon.*"

Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέρων = "the *Royal* Scythians." See IV. 10.

ἱπποφορβίῳ = "a troop of pasturing horses."

τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχοντας = "of the *same* age," i.e. being all alike *beardless,* they appeared an army of *young* men.

ὑποφεύγειν δὲ = "but to retreat *a little way.*"

ζόην ἔζωον = "they continued to live a life," the accusative of the cognate substantive.

ἐκτιλώσαντο = "made them their *pets*." Compare Pindar's *Pyth.* II. 30, *ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας*.

τὴν δὲ φωνὴν, κ.τ.λ. See Arist. *Rhet.* I. 5, 6; Thuc. II. 45.

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα = "we *could not possibly*." Observe how *ἂν strengthens the negative.*

ἐκείνῃσι συμφέρεσθαι = "*bear with* the women *yonder*," or as we say, "get *along with*," for "*agreeing with*."

ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτέων = "by our own selves," i.e. apart from the rest. See IX. 17.

τὸ ἐπίβαλλον (supply *μέρος* from *τῶν κτήματων τὸ μέρος*, a little above) = "the portion (of goods) that falleth to their share." See I. 106.

φόβος τε καὶ δέος = Latin "timorque metusque," "fear for *personal safety* (the body), and apprehension of mind."

Σαυροματέων. Supposed to be the Sarmatians of a later period. Rawlinson connects them with the northern Medes (Sauro-Medes), and identifies them with the slaves (Sclavonians). See also IV. 21.

φωνῇ δὲ νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ = "make a *rule* of using the Scythian language." *νομίζω* with a dative = *χράομαι*, and therefore has *the same sense* or nearly so. See II. 44, and IV. 64.

118, 119. Embassy of the Scythians to the neighbouring barbarians, and its success.

ὁ Πέρσης = "the Persian (*king*)." So below, *ὁ Γελωνὸς* = "the king of the Geloni," and *ὁ Βουδῖνος* = the king of the Budini.

ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι = "sitting down *in idleness* apart from the common interest," i.e. keeping *neutral*. See III. 83, *ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθῆστο*.

τὠυτὸ νοήσαντες = "*unanimously*."

τί γὰρ πάθωμεν = "for what can we now do?" See Eurip. *Hecuba*, 612; Homer's *Iliad*, A. 404.

ὑμῖν...ἐλαφρ. = "things will not be a whit easier for you on this account."

ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑμέας. Here the negative is confirmative and emphatic, not redundant. See V. 94, VII. 16, and Thuc. II. 62, III. 36.

τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης. See I. 103, 105, and IV. 1, 12.

τοὺς αἰεὶ, κ.τ.λ. = "he subdues all that from time to time happen to oppose him." See II. 98, and Eurip. *Hecuba*, 1164.

ὑπεδέκοντο = "*undertook*."

ἔατε Ionic = Attic *ἦτε*.

τὴν ὁμοίην ὑμῖν. Supply *δίκην* = "are repaying the like measure of justice to you."

καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα = "and we will not put up with it" (i.e. the invasion).

μέχρι...ἴδωμεν = "until *we happen* to see." Observe here the *contingency* implied in the subjunctive, which is rare with μέχρι, and compare Soph. *Ajax*, 571, μέχρις μυχοὺς κίχωσι νερτέρου θεοῦ.

120. The Scythian plan of warfare against Darius.

ὑπεξιόντες δὲ καὶ ὑπεξελαύνοντες = "secretly withdrawing and secretly driving off" (*the cattle*).

τὰ παρεξίοιεν = "which they might pass by on their way out." τὰ φρέατα = "the *artificial* tanks." τὰς κρήνας = "the *natural* springs of water." συγχοῦν = "to *fill up*," not "poison."

121. The Scythians send forwards their skirmishers.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο = "these then forthwith conveyed themselves forwards into a distant country."

122. Persians meet and pursue the Scythians.

οἱ πρόδρομοι = "the *advanced* guard," the same with τὴν ἵππον (below) = "the advanced *troop* of horse."

τὴν ἵππον = "the *body* of cavalry." So ἡ κάμηλος = "a troop of camels."

πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν, κ.τ.λ. (supply ὁδὸν) = "they directed their march straight against one detachment of their force."

οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον, κ.τ.λ. = "the Persians *kept up* the pursuit in the direction of the east and the Don."

ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων = if, as it appears, the Sauromatæ and Budini were on opposite banks of the Don (Tanais), then the Persians must have re-crossed the river, and this Herodotus has omitted.

123. The wooden town of the Budini burnt.

κεκενωμένου τοῦ τείχεος πάντων = "the fortification having been emptied of every thing." See IV. 108.

τὴν ἐρῆμον. Supply χῶραν. See IV. 22. Some consider it the *Uralian* desert.

πλῆθος = "extent." See I. 203.

Ὄαρος = "the Wolga," acc. to Rennell.

124. Darius halts, and builds fortresses.

τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμέ, κ.τ.λ. = "and of those the ruins were still in a state of preservation even to my time."

ἡμίεργα μετῆκε = "left them behind him *half finished*."

125. Darius encounters other divisions.

ὑπεκφέροντας ἡμέρης ὁδῷ = "keeping a day's march before him."

ἀνίεε ἐπιὼν = "*give up* proceeding against them."

ὑπέφευγον = "continued *gradually* to withdraw."

κατηγέοντο = "led the way into." With ἐς supply χώρην.

οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους, κ.τ.λ. Rawlinson thus translates this difficult passage, "The Scythians, when the Agathyrsi forbade them to enter their country, *refrained*, and led the Persians back from the Neurian district into their own land," and thus remarks in a note: "The Agathyrsi, having the Carpathians for their frontier, would be better able to defend themselves than the nations which lay farther to the east. As 'luxurious,' and 'fond of wearing gold' (supra, cap. 104), the Agathyrsi would also have more to lose than their neighbours."

126, 127. Darius sends a challenge to the Scythians for a pitched battle: and the answer.

δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν = "*thou strange man*;" others render it, "thou unfortunate man." See Homer's *Iliad*, Bk. VI.

ἐξόν τοι = "it being in thy power." So παρεὸν and παρέχον are used by Herodotus. The *accusative absolute.*

μάχεσθαι. Supply θέλε. See III. 134, and VII. 159.

γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. See Virgil's *Æn.* VIII. 128, and Herod. VI. 218, and Arist. *Rhet.* II. 23.

τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει = "thus the matter stands with me," literally, "has itself."

ἐώθεα, Ionic Pluperf. = Attic εἰώθειν = "it had been my custom."

ἁλφῃ. Aor. Subj. (2) from ἁλίσκω.

ἢν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἱρῇ = "unless a (sufficient) reason should draw us on." See I. 132.

κλαίειν λέγω = "I bid you weep" = "may ill luck go with you," "go and hang yourself,"—an expression of contempt or hatred, imitated by Horace, *Sat.* I. 10. 90:

Demetri, teque Tigelli,
Discipularum inter *jubeo plorare* cathedras."

Compare Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 1131, *Knights*, 433.

ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις = "a mode of expression which was *traditional* among the Scythians." Observe ῥέω = "to mention a *traditional* saying," λέγω = "I *command*," = "*tell to do*." Compare St Matthew's Gospel, chap. v. 33, 34, for the recurring formulas: ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη, the language of *tradition*, and ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, the language of personal *command*, in direct opposition to each other. Blakesley remarks on this passage in Herodotus, "The ordinary salutation of civility among the Greeks was χαῖρε, and κελεύω χαίρειν, the expression κλαῖε or οἴμωζε in the place of it would be considered as the pitch of ruffianly ill-breeding—*the behaviour of a Scythian*—to whom the refined Greeks attributed every description of coarseness of which they had any account. See I. 202, 216. Hence it was proverbially described as ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων

ῥῆσις. As the French would in the case of the English," and the English of a "*Goth.*"

128. The Scythians try to cut off the Persian foragers.

πλανᾶν = "*to make* to wander." *πλανᾶσθαι* (mid) = "to *wander.*"

σῖτα δὲ ἑκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοισι, κ.τ.λ. = "to set upon them on each occasion when they tried to carry off provisions for themselves." Observe the phrase here is different from *σῖτον αἱρεῖσθαι* = "to *take one's food,*" i.e. to eat. (See III. 26, VI. 120.) *σῖτα* = "*victus,*" *all kinds of provisions.* See V. 34.

ἂν ἐπεκούρεε = "would probably have helped (the cavalry)."

129. The braying of the asses a protection to the Persians.

διὰ τὰ ψύχεα = "on account of the continual cold *weather,*" so *plural "frigora" in Latin.*

ὑβρίζοντες = "by their braying." See Pindar *Pyth.* X. 55, and Xenoph. *Anab.* V. 88.

ὀρθὰ ἱστάντες τὰ ὦτα = "pricking up their ears." See Soph. *Electra,* 25, and Horace, *Od.* II. 19. 4.

ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρόν τι, κ.τ.λ. = "they carried off then these results of the war, to some small extent."

130, 131. The Scythians send significant gifts to the Persians.

οἱ δὲ ἂν Πέρσαι, κ.τ.λ. = "some of the Persians then would come on, and *from time to time* would take away some of the sheep, and when they had done so would be lifted up (with joy) at what had been done."

τὸν νόον = Lat. "mentem" = "*the meaning.*"

γνῶναι τὸ ἐθέλει, κ.τ.λ. = "*at once to understand* what the gifts meant to imply." Observe here the force of the Aorist, and see VI. 37, and V. 80, and compare the Lat. *volo.*

132. Various interpretations about the Scythian gifts.

Δαρείου μέν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἦν = *Δαρεῖος μέν νυν ἐγιγνώσκε—εἰκάζων.*

ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵππῳ. Since each of them is significant of that in which the Scythians most excelled—"swiftness." See I. 216, and Isaiah xxx. 17.

συνεστήκεε = "was *at variance* with." See I. 208, and for Gobryas, see III. 70.

ἀναπτῆσθε = "fly upwards."

133. The Scythians tamper with the Ionians in charge of the bridge.

Μαιῆτιν Ionic = Attic *Μαιῶτιν*—"the Palus Mæotis," now the sea of Azof.

φρουρέειν. See IV. 120, 122.

ἐσακούειν = "*hearken*" (to hear, and act on what you hear); ἀκούω = "*to hear*," simply.

134. The Persians think of retreating.

διῆξε = "sprang between them," from διαΐσσω.

ὤρεον Ionic = Attic ὤραον, "saw."

εἶπε ἄρα = "said, as you would *naturally* expect" (considering his character). ἄρα (from ἄρω), properly, "*fittingly*."

ὡς ὦν οὕτως, κ.τ.λ. = "since, therefore, things appear even to myself to be in this condition."

τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην (the *objective* genitive) = "the difficulty of dealing with these men." See IV. 83.

τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους, κ.τ.λ. = "the weakest to endure the hardships of the march."

135, 136. Gobryas' advice given and followed.

νύξ τε ἐγένετο, καὶ Δαρεῖος, κ.τ.λ. = "as soon as it became night, Darius carried out into practice this plan."

αὐτοῦ (supply τοῦ τόπου) ταύτῃ. See III. 25.

προφάσιος δὲ τῆσδε, κ.τ.λ. = "under this pretext, *observe now*." δηλαδὴ here plays the part of *voilà* in French, to call special notice to what follows.

σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ = "with the effective portion of the army." See I. 121.

κατὰ χώρην ἤλπιζον, κ.τ.λ. = "quite expected that the Persians would be in their position."

ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα = "they proceeded to tell them their situation."

συστραφέντες = "having joined their forces together."

ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ. With a genitive absolute ἅτε and ὥστε are very often joined in Herod. See VI. 44. Compare cap. 128. The number and size of the rivers are mentioned by Herod. as the principal wonder of Scythia, chap. 82. He ranks the Borysthenes as the largest of all rivers except the Nile and the Danube (c. 53). The Hypanis also (Bog) is ποταμὸς ἐν ὀλίγοισι μέγας (c. 52), but he appears to forget the existence of such rivers when he describes the Persian march. See Grote, Vol. IV. p. 353.

ἔφθησαν πολλῷ, κ.τ.λ. = "arrived at the bridge long before the Persians." φθάνω, like λανθάνω, τυγχάνω, is almost always constructed with a participle.

παραστησόμεθα = "we will so reduce to submission"—bring over *to our side*.

137, 138. Ionians deliberate about breaking the bridge.

ἐλευθεροῦν 'Ιωνίην. See VI. 37, and Thirlwall's *Greek Hist.* Vol. II. chap. 14. Rawlinson tells us that "the Chersonesites upon the

Hellespont" are here distinguished from the inhabitants of the Heracleotic Chersonesus, which occupied the peninsula between the port of Balaclava and the great harbour of Sebastopol.

οἱ διαφέροντες τὴν ψῆφον = "who voted differently." See V. 30, VI. 13, VIII. 132.

ἐόντες λόγου = "being of account" in the king's estimation.

139, 140. The Scythians deceived.

πειρῴατο Ionic = Attic *πειρῷντο.*

ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο = "gave a *plausible* answer in the *name of all.*"

τὰ ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν, κ.τ.λ. Blakesley takes this, "your part of the matter is set a-going in a spirit of kindness to us, and our part of it is performing in a way to play into your hands." *ὁδοῦν* = "to put a person *in the way of a thing*;" thus Æschylus, *Aga.* 184, *Prom.* 497, and see VI. 73.

ὡς κείνους πρέπει = "as they deserve."

παρεῖχε ἂν σφι (supply *καιρὸς*) = "an opportunity would probably have presented itself to them."

ἐντυχόντες. Supply *τῷ πόρῳ.*

ἀπίκατο = *ἀφίγμενοι ἦσαν.*

141, 142. The Persians reach the bridge.

φωνέων μέγιστον = *φων. μάλιστα.* So we have *μέγα* for *μάλα*, used in I. 8, II. 141.

ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι = "having hearkened to (and obeyed) the first call."

ἀπέρριπται. See I. 153, VII. 13.

143, 144, 145. Darius marches to Sestus, and leaves Megabazus behind.

Μεγάβαζον. Some read *Μεγάβυζον* (see III. 160).

τόδε τὸ ἔπος. This was afterwards attributed to the Delphic Oracle. See II. 160.

ἐν Βυζαντίῳ = "*Constantinople*" (now). A Megarian colony.

ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς (supply *νηὸς*) *ἐπιβάτεων* = "the Argonauts."

ἐκ Βραυρῶνος, κ.τ.λ. See VI. 138, where the Pelasgians are said to be the same that were shortly before settled on the flanks of Mount Hymettus.

πῦρ ἀνέκαιον = "they proceeded to light up a fire." This was the symbol, acc. to Blakesley, of their worship of Vulcan, which they carried with them from the volcanic isle of Lemnos. See VI. 140.

146. The Minyans of Lemnos.

ἐπεὶ ὦν ἔμελλον, κ.τ.λ. = "when then they were on the point of

dispatching them." Compare the Lat. "*conficere;*" and with this stratagem compare the escapes of Lavalette and Lord Nithsdale from prison in a similar way.

147. The island Thera and its colonization.

ἔστελλε = "was fitting out." See III. 141, and Eurip. *Iphig. in Aulide*, 661. See also Herod. VI. 52.

ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε τὴν βασιληΐην = "held the royal office which had been committed to him in trust." See III. 142.

Θήρῃ νήσῳ = "*Santorin*" now. It lay to the south of the other Cyclades islands.

148, 149. Theras goes to Calliste.

ἄγων τοὺς Μινύας. This colonization of Thera by the Minyæ with the Lacedæmonians has been celebrated by Pindar (*Pyth.* IV. 257, Ed. of Dissen):

> *Λακεδαιμονίων μιχθέντες ἀνδρῶν*
> *ἤθεσι τάν ποτε Καλλίσταν ἀπῴκησαν χρόνῳ*
> *νᾶσον.*

τοὺς Παρωρεάτας = "those who live on the mountain-*sides*."

Καύκωνας. See I. 147, and VIII. 73.

Λέπρεον. Supposed to be now "*Palæokastro.*"

Μάκιστον, now "*Mortizza.*" See Leake's *Morea*, I. p. 56.

οὐ γὰρ ἔφη. This expression, says Blakesley, is equivalent to *ὡς οὐκ ἔφη*, or rather the particle *γὰρ* attaches the notion of causality to the clause which it connects, and may be indifferently rendered by the English "for" or "since," or any other causative particle. Translate: "his son *too*, as he declined to sail with him. 'Then,' the father said, 'he would leave him behind, a sheep among wolves.'" Similarly below, "And as with the men of this tribe, their children did not live to grow up, they, in pursuance of an oracle, established a temple for the Erinyes of Laius and Œdipodas." See V. 60.

150. The Delphic oracle to Grinus of Thera.

Εὐφημίδης. See Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 455.

οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες, κ.τ.λ. See II. 50.

151, 152, 153. The Theræans' connection with Samos and Cyrene.

οὐκ ὗε (supply *ὁ θεὸς*) = "the Deity did not wet with rain."

ἀνδρὶ πορφυρέϊ = "a merchant dealing in purple dye."

ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν = "*for so many months, whatever the number* was." See I. 157.

τοῦ συγκειμένου = "than what had been agreed upon."

ἀκήρατον = "untouched;" in full force. See I. 163.

πρόκροσσοι = "set at regular distances," like towers on a battlement, or "standing out from the surface." See VII. 188.

φιλίαι μεγάλαι. See II. 32, III. 26.

154, 155, 156, 157, 158. Cyrenian account of the origin of Battus.

πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη. See V. 62.

ἦ μὲν = Attic *ἦ μὴν* = "most solemnly and assuredly." The *formula with an oath.*

ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν = "*just* saving the oath imposed upon himself." Compare IV. 203.

τραυλὸς = "balbus" = "stuttering." See X. 15.

ἄλλο τι = "for some other reason."

συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως = "according to their old ill-luck did it fare with them." See VII. 8.

Πλατέα, the island "Bomba." IV. 151.

οὐδέν σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο = "nothing good bore them *company.*" A form of expression for *bad luck,* especially common to the peasantry of Ireland.

ἀπίει = "*lets off,*" and see I. 1.

Ἄζιρις = "*Temmineh*;" opp. to Bomba.

νάπαι = "saltus" = "*the wooded glens.*"

παραιτησάμενοι = "having obtained leave to."

Ἴρασα = "Ersen" now, probably. See Pindar, *Pyth.* IX. 106. Pindar also celebrates the fountain of Apollo (*Pyth.* IV. 294).

ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται = "for here the heaven has been *pierced.*" Eustathius (ad Homer.) explains, "the sky is a sort of reservoir, which in other parts of the world is *sound,* and holds water, *but at this place leaks.*" Compare Gen. vii. 11, "The windows of *heaven were opened*;" and see Deut. xi. 11, xxviii. 12, 23, and 2 Kings vii. 2.

159, 160. Annals of Cyrene.

ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ = "on the condition of having the land divided up and down among them." See Arnold's *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 158, and Thucyd. V. 4, and Herod. VII. 155, and Müller's *Dorians,* Vol. II. p. 181.

περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν = "being deprived of much of their land." Compare the English "*curtailed.*"

παραχρεώμενοι = "setting nothing by their lives;" literally, "*using themselves* as *secondary* things," (*ἐν παρέργῳ*) or "*staking,*" "hazarding," as the *stakes* were laid down *alongside* (*παρὰ*) each other.

Ἀπρίῃ. See II. 161. *Βάρκη.* See IV. 158.

161, 162, 163, 164, 165. Affairs of Cyrene.

καταρτιστῆρα = "a reformer." See V. 29, 106.

τῷ βασιλέϊ Βάττῳ, κ.τ.λ. Grote here observes (Vol. IV. p. 59): "I construe the word *τεμένεα* as meaning *all the domains,* doubtless large, which had belonged to the Battiad princes; contrary to Thrige, who restricts the expression to *revenues derived from sacred property.* The supposition of O. Müller, that the preceding king had made himself despotic by means of Egyptian soldiers, appears to me not probable and not admissible upon the simple authority of Plutarch's romantic story, when we take into consideration the silence of Herodotus."

τεμένεα ἐξελών. See Müller's *Dorians,* Vol. II. p. 181.

ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε = "surrendered it into the hands of the people." See III. 80, VII. 164.

γέρεα = "privileges." See I. 59.

ἐς Σάμον. See IV. 152.

ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ διδομένῳ ἔλεγε = "she used to say this over every present that was given her."

ἀπόπεμπε κατ' οὖρον = "send them off adown the breeze;" i.e. "let them go their way in peace." See Soph. *Trach.* 474, Æschyl. *Sept. c. Theb.* 696.

ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων. So in Æschyl. *Ag.* the hero is called *ὁ βοῦς ἐπὶ φάτνῃ.*

Κνίδιοι. See III. 138, and IV. 161.

ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις = "after all was done and over." See I. 170, and compare Juvenal (*Sat.* XIII. 237):

> "quid fas
> Atque nefas, tandem incipiunt sentire *peractis*
> Criminibus."

166, 167. The coinage of Aryandes: invades Barca and Cyrene.

παρισεύμενος = "making himself equal by an *indirect* course." Such is here the force of *παρά.*

κατοικτείρας = "from downright compassion."

Μαράφιον. See I. 125, V. 32, VI. 43, 94, VII. 88.

πρόσχημα = "a mere pretext;" literally = "a *thing held before* one" *to mask* one's real design.

168. Description of the Lybian tribes—Adyrmachidæ.

Πλυνός. Supposed to be identical with the "*Panormus*" of Ptolemy, now called *Port Bardeah.*

169. The Giligammæ.

'Αφροδισιάδος νήσου. Supposed to be "Drepanum," near Derna.

τῆς Σύρτιος. According to Niebuhr, Herodotus seems to have known but one Syrtis, the Greater Syrtis of later times, now called the Gulf of *Sidra.*

τὸ σίλφιον. This was used among other things as sauce for the Bœotian eels. See Aristoph. *Birds*, 1579. It was a royal monopoly, and therefore produced unbounded wealth to the monarch of Cyrene. Hence the proverb, *τὸ Βάττου σίλφιον.* See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XIX. 3, and XXIII. 23, and Plautus, *Rud.* III. 2, 16. It was a kind of *laserpitium* or *assafœtida* for fattening cattle, and useful as an aperient for men. It fetched its weight in silver, and was represented on the coins of Cyrene.

170. The Asbystæ (tribe).

Ἀσβύσται. Mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* V. 5) as neighbours of the Nasamonians and Macians. They lived near the Cyrenæans.

Κυρηναίων. The inhabitants of Cyrene were famous for their skill in chariot-driving; hence the appellations of *εὔιππος, ἱππόβοτος*, and such like, applied to its natives by Pindar (*Pyth.* IV. 2, IX. 5). The usual emblems on their coins, besides the silphium, were the horse, four-horse chariot, and the chariot-wheel.

171. The tribe of the Auschisæ.

Εὐεσπερίδας. The city of Hesperis was afterwards called Berenice, from the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes; its ruins are at Ben Ghazi. See Pindar, *Pyth.* V. 34.

Κάβαλες. Now (probably) the "*Cabyles*" of modern Algeria, a real Berber race.

Ταύχειρα. Now *Tokrah*, near Ptolemais.

172. The tribe of the Nasamones.

Νασαμῶνες. They lay round the shores of the greater Syrtis (see II. 32). In the Roman times they were notorious as wreckers. See Lucan, *Pharsal.* IX. 438.

ἀττελέβους = "wingless locusts."

καταλέουσι = "grind down."

ἐπικατακοιμέωνται. See I. 52, and Virgil's *Æneid*, VII. 80—100.

173. The Psylli, an extinct race.

τὰ ἔλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων = "the water-tanks," or "reservoirs." See I. 185.

ὁ νότος κατέχωσέ σφεας = "the south-wind *buried* them in heaps of (sand)." See III. 26.

174, 175. The Garamantes.

Γαράμαντες. The people of "*Fezzan*," the ancient Phazania, which lay between Tunis and Egypt. Its capital was Garama, now *Mourzouk*.

οὔτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέαται = "neither do they know how to defend themselves." This does not well tally with IV. 159. See also Chap. 183.

Μάκαι. Their place is now "*Tripoli*" (probably).

στρουθῶν καταγαίων = "sparrows *that hide themselves in the ground,*" i.e. ostriches, which in fright poke their heads *in the sand*, and foolishly fancy no one can see them. Compare VII. 70. The covering of feathers broke the blow of a weapon—a contrivance which the South Sea Islanders now use for the same purpose.

Κίνυψ. Now "Kinifo" (probably): it was here that Dorieus, the Spartan, tried to found a colony (V. 42). See also IV. 198, for its fertility.

176, 177, 178. The Gindanes, Lotus-eaters, and Machlyes.

Γίνδανες. Now "Gadzames," between Tunis and Agadez.

Λωτοφάγοι. Their country is now the peninsula of Zarzis. The lotus, according to Rawlinson, is the Rhamnus, now called in Arabic *Sidr*, the fruit *Nebk*. See *Odyssey*, IX. 84—96, and Pliny, XIII. 32, and Herod. II. 96.

καὶ οἶνον = "and wine, *too*."

Μάχλυες. Pliny calls these neighbours of the Nasamonians.

λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα. We quote the *Dict. of Geog.* by Dr Smith, p. 1233: "The Lake Tritonitis of Ptolemy is called, however, by other writers *Tritonis* (Herod. IV. 179). Herodotus seems to confound it with the Lesser Syrtis itself; but Scylax (p. 49), who gives it a circumference of 1000 stades, describes it as connected with the Syrtis by a narrow opening, and as surrounding a small island, called by Herodotus Phla (Φλὰ), which is also mentioned by Strabo as containing a temple of Aphrodite, and by Dionysius. This lake Tritonis is undoubtedly the present Schibkah-el-Lovdjah, of which, according to Shaw (*Travels*, I. p. 237), the other two lakes are merely parts; while the river Triton is the present El-Hammah. This river indeed is no longer connected with the lake, a circumstance, however, which affords no essential ground for doubting the identity of the two streams, since in those regions even larger rivers are sometimes compelled by the quicksands to alter their course. Scylax mentions also another island called Tritonos (Τρίτωνος) in the Syrtis Minor, which last itself is, according to him, only part of a large Sinus Tritonitis. Some writers confound the Lake Tritonis with the lake of the Hesperides, and seek it in other districts of Libya: sometimes in Mauritania, in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas, and the Atlantic Ocean; sometimes in Cyrenaica, near Berenice, and the river Lathon or Lethon. The latter hypothesis is adopted by Lucan (IX. 346), the former by Diodorus Siculus (III. 53), who also attributes to it an island inhabited by the Amazons. But Strabo (l. c.) especially distinguishes the lake of the Hesperides from the Lake Tritonis."

179. Legend of Jason.

Ἰήσονα. See Grote, Vol. I. p. 316.

τῷ τρίποδι, κ.τ.λ. See Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. Blakesley observes that the tripod (the symbol of the tutelary deity of the settlers, see I. 144) is a most important feature in the legend, and appears in all the versions

of it. Apollonius Rhodius makes the sacred tripod a *return* for the piece of earth, which, in his narrative as well as that of Pindar (*Pyth.* IV. 12), is the symbol by which Triton makes over the soil to the Hellenic settlers (IV. 1548). Diodorus brings the matter down even closer to the level of daily experience. Triton, according to him, was the king of the country, who on explaining to the Argonauts the difficulties of the coast, was rewarded by them with a brazen tripod, which in after times was actually seen covered with hieroglyphics at Berenice (IV. 56).

180. The Auses tribe.

Αὐσεῖς. Of these we have little or no trace.

'Αθηναίην. The Athene of the Greeks was identified with the *Neith* of the Egyptians by the Greeks themselves: see Plato's *Timæus*, p. 21 E; her worship was general throughout the tribes of Africa. See II. 50, IV. 188.

περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ. Blakesley observes, "the existence of this practice may have suggested to the friends of Pisistratus the demonstration described by Herodotus above, I. 60. It seems scarcely doubtful that this Athene is a war goddess, a kind of Enyo, Bellona, or Amazon, analogous to the mother of Ares at Papremis, where on the day of the high festival there was 'a passage of arms,' not unlike the one described in the text. See II. 63."

πρὶν δὲ ἀνεῖναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι = "now before they gave up fighting."

ὁτέοισι = "with what things, be they what they may."

ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου. See II. 156, and Thucyd. I. 8.

181. The Oasis of Ammon.

διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ = "at intervals of ten days' journey."

ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαιέος Διὸς = "after the fashion of that belonging to Thebæan Zeus."

γίνεται χλιαρὸν = "becomes tepid." With the whole account compare Lucretius, VI. 849—874, and III. 104.

δύεταί τε ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρὸν = "just as the sun sets, so does the water become tepid." Blakesley here well remarks: "This mode of expression, in which the synchronism of two events is denoted by coupling the clauses expressing them by the particles *τε—καὶ*, is a favourite one with Herodotus, *but peculiar to him.* Thus below (chap. 181), *παρέρχονταί τε μέσαι νύκτες, καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἠῶ* = "as midnight passes, so does the water grow colder even till dawn;" and in chap. 199, *συγκεκόμισταί τε, κ.τ.λ.* = "as this midland-grown crop is housed, the crop in the highlands is getting ripe;" and above, chap. 135, *νύξ τε ἐγένετο, κ.τ.λ.*, and V. 86, *τούς τε 'Αθηναίους, κ.τ.λ.*

182, 183. Relative distances of Augila and Garamantes.

Αὔγιλα. The distance between the Ammonians (Siwah) and Augila is rightly given. See Hornemann's *Travels.*

συντομώτατον = "the shortest *cut.*"

τρίψιν = "firmness to the touch *when rubbed.*"

νυκτερίδες (nightly birds) = "bats." See Æsch. *Ag.* 1050; Aristoph. *Birds*, 1681.

184. The Atarantes and the Pillar of Heaven (Atlas).

'Ατάραντες. Heeren conjectures these to be the Bornous of Tegerry; yet this is hard to reconcile with Chaps. 181 and 185.

"Ατλας. By this Homer and Hesiod meant the Peak of Teneriffe: Herodotus evidently describes Atlas as the Peak, and yet places it in Africa.

τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ = "the Pillar of Heaven." So Æschylus (*Prom. Vinctus*, 357):

πρὸς ἑσπέρους τόπους
ἕστηκε κίον' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονὸς
ὤμοιν ἐρείδων, ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον.

185. A desert beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοισι, κ.τ.λ. The salt-mine here spoken of is described almost in the same words by Leo Africanus, who knew nothing of Herodotus; these mines are situated on the S.E. of the desert of Zanhaga, between Morocco and Timbuctoo.

186, 187, 188. Tribes west of Lake Tritonis, not Nomads.

διότι περ οὐδέ. See II. 41 and 64. Pindar, *Pyth.* IX. 109.

καίουσι. The Arabs, as well as other Orientalists, still make burning with a red-hot iron the grand remedy for almost all diseases.

ὑγιηρότατοι δ' ὦν εἰσὶ = "and, *as a fact*, they are the most healthy." Observe the force of *ὦν*, and see on III. 80.

ῥύονται = "rescue themselves (from disease)," i.e. cure.

189. The garb of Athene is similar to that of the Libyan women.

σκυτίνη ἡ ἐσθὴς = "their garb is *made of leather.*" Garments of this material are very common for women even at the present day in Africa. Compare Gen. iii. 21, for "*coats* of *skins.*" The hide was thrown loosely round the loins, and cut *into stripes* to fit more closely.

κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῳ. Compare "the rams' skins dyed red" of Exodus xx. 5; and we know the repute of *Morocco* leather.

190. Burial of the Nomad Tribes.

κατίσουσι. The inhabitants of the Canary Isles buried their dead *standing;* the old Britons buried them in a *sitting* posture.

οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα, κ.τ.λ. = "now their *huts* are made up of the stalks of asphodel, wattled with rushes, and these can be carried about." Hellanicus says these were merely for keeping off the sun.

191. West of the Triton dwell the agricultural Libyans.

ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. The story went that Antenor, going from Troy to Italy, coasted along the African shore and planted colonies. See Pindar, *Pyth.* v. 78.

ὄνοι οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες, "Antelopes," probably; while the cynocephali were "*apes*."

192. *πύγαργοι.* See Shaw's *Travels*, p. 171: "Besides the common gazelle or antelope, ζορκὰς, antelope dorcas of Cuvier, and the antelope bubalis of Linnæus, a species of wild goat, this country produces another species of the same shape and colour, though of the bigness of a roebuck, with horns sometimes two feet long. This, which the Africans call lidmee, may be the same with the strepsiceros and addax of the ancients. Bochart, from the supposed whiteness of the buttocks, finds great affinity between the addax and the bison, which in Deut. xiv. 5, our translation, agreeably to the LXX. and Vulgate versions, renders the pygarg."

τῶν τὰ κέρεα, κ.τ.λ. = "the horns of these are made into the curved sides of Phœnician lutes." Compare the construction here with VIII. 27, *ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο, κ.τ.λ.*

βασσάρια = "foxes." *ὕστριχες* = "porcupines."

δίποδες καλέονται = "jerboas" probably. Supposed to be mentioned in Leviticus xi. 29, and Isaiah lxvi. 17.

βουνοὶ = "little hills" or "*mounds*." Compare the Gaelic *Ben*, and Celtic *Pen*, denoting a hill. See Æschylus, *Supplices*, 117, 128. The word is supposed to be indigenous to Cyrene, and travelled from that place to *Alexandria* (hence we find it in the Septuagint version of the Holy Scriptures, see Gen. xxxi. 46, Exodus xvii. 9, Numbers xxiii. 9, Deut. xxxiii. 15, Joshua v. 3), and to Sicily, and to Athens, where Herodotus picked it up.

193, 194. The Zaueces and Gyzantes.

Γύζαντες. Dr Shaw conjectures that the name Zygantes may have been derived from that of the towns and mountains of Zow-ain or Zagwan, situated about 40 Greek miles S.W. of Carthage. See IV. 191.

πιθηκοφαγέουσι = "eat monkeys."

ἄφθονοι ὅσοι = "in unenviable numbers;" i. e. vast, countless.

195. The island Cyraunis.

κατὰ τούτους = "*in a line with* these." See II. 75, III. 14.

Κύραυνιν = "Karkenah," the Cercina of the Romans, at the mouth of the Lesser Syrtis. Niebuhr makes it the Cerne of Hanno, now the "Isle of Arguin."

Ζακύνθῳ, now "Zante." Its "ten springs" are still celebrated.

Πιερικῆς πίσσης = "the pitch of Pieria." This was believed to be the best in Greece. Pliny describes it, "Asia picem Idæam maxime portat, Græcia Piericam."

λάκκον = "a cistern." Connected by the *root* with the Latin "lacus," "lacunar," Greek Λάκων (as Sparta was full of *chasms*).

196. Carthaginian accounts of Libyan commerce.

Καρχηδόνιοι. See ii. 32. Καρχήδων has been derived from Carthahadtha = "New-Town," founded by the Phœnicians. Compare the Lat. "*Neapolis*," now "*Naples*."

κυματωγὴν = "*beach*," where "*the waves break*" (κύματα ἄγνυμι). Compare ἀκτὴ and ῥηγμῖς (in Homer), of a *similar derivation*.

ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων = "*as an equivalent* for the goods."

197. Two native and two foreign races in Libya.

ἐφρόντιζον οὐδὲν = "gave themselves no *serious* thought."

ἐπήλυδες. The Egyptians are omitted, because Egypt was reckoned to the account of *Asia*. See II. 47, IV. 39 and 41. "Taking the Ethiopians," says Rawlinson, "to represent that type of man which, starting from the characteristics of the Egyptian, develops into the negro, we shall find no reason to cavil at the enumeration of races in our author. The Libyans, the indigenous inhabitants of the northern parts, are the modern Berbers, who under various names, Berbers, Shuluhs, Cabyles, Pirariks, continue to form an important element in the population of North Africa, stretching from the mountains of Morocco to the oasis of Ammon. Southward of this race dwell an entirely different people. From Senegambia to Nubia, a type of man approaching more or less nearly to the negro is found to prevail (Pritchard, *Nat. Hist. of Man*, p. 269). Even the southern races, Caffres and Hottentots, appear to belong to this same family. In these we have the Ethiopians of Herodotus. The other two Herodotean races have been absorbed, as likewise have the Romans and the Vandals. The only existing element in the population of Africa, which does not appear in Herodotus, is the *Arabian*, the introduction of which is fixed historically to the period of the Mahometan conquests, A.D. 639—710."

198. Rare fertility of the Cinyps.

καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. Compare Ovid, *Pont.* II. 7, 25:

"Cinyphiæ segetis citius numerabis aristas."

And see IV. 175, IV. 191, and I. 193, IV. 171.

ἔπυδρος πίδαξι = "well-watered with springs."

φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν = Lat. "nescia" = "unconscious of," *knows nothing of.*

199. Succession of crops at Cyrene.

ὀργᾷ ἀμᾶσθαι = "is ripe for the harvest."

βουνοὺς = "*little hills*." Compare the Gaelic "Ben" and Celtic "Pen" = "Hill."

ἐπ' ὀκτὼ μῆνας = "extending over eight months."

200. Aryandes' army besieges Barca.

Φερετίμης. See IV. 165—167.

ἐπαγγελλόμενοι = "*taking upon themselves to announce,*" and so to *promise.*

τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν, κ.τ.λ. = "inasmuch as of those the whole multitude had partaken of the guilt."

τὰ μὲν ὀρύγματα, κ.τ.λ. See Livy, XXXVIII. 7.

ἐπιχάλκῳ ἀσπίδι = "a shield *covered with bronze.*"

ἀπεκρούοντο = "continued to beat them off."

201. Amasis takes the town by treachery.

χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλὸν τριβομένων = "now as *full* many seasons *wore away.*" Compare the Lat. expression "*conterere* tempus," and observe how the particle *δὴ* renders a definite term still more definite, and an indefinite term more indefinite.

ἐμπεδορκέοιεν = "might keep the oath unbroken."

202. Pheretime's cruel revenge.

κυκλῳ τοῦ τείχεος = "around the wall." *κύκλῳ* = *περὶ* just as *χάριν* = *ἕνεκα.* Müller observes that Pheretime was corrupted by Egyptian or Libyan influence as the state of Cyrene was—from a Doric lady became an Eastern Sultana." See *Dorians,* II. p. 428; see III. 159.

203. The greater part of these Barcæans enslaved.

ἐπέστησαν = "halted at."

φόβος ἐνέπεσε = "a *panic*-fear fell on them." Lycæan Zeus is supposed to be identical with Pan ("Deus Arcadiæ," acc. to Virgil). See Thucyd. VII. 80.

ἐπελκομένους = "dragging themselves onwards." See III. 105.

ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέατο. See III. 13 and 91.

204. Vain attempt in Cyrene.

Εὐεσπερίδας. See IV. 171.

ἀνασπάστους. See II. 104.

ἐγκατοικῆσαι. See V. 15, VI. 3, 20, 119. The transplantation of nations seems to have been much practised by the Persians, as formerly by the Assyrians.

205. Death of Pheretime.

ζῶσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέζεσε = "for while alive she was eaten up of worms." Compare the similar deaths of Antiochus Epiphanes, Herod the Great, and Philip II. of Spain, all infamous for their blood-thirsty persecutions.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

THE CABEIRI (Herod. III. cap. 37). From Dr Smith's *Dict. of Mythology*.

"CABEIRI (Κάβειροι), mystic divinities, who occur in various parts of the ancient world. The obscurity that hangs over them, and the contradictions respecting them in the accounts of the ancients themselves, have opened a wide field for speculation to modern writers on mythology, each of whom has been tempted to propound a theory of his own. The meaning of the name Cabeiri is quite uncertain, and has been traced to nearly all the languages of the East, and even to those of the North; but one etymology seems as plausible as another, and etymology in this instance is a real *ignis fatuus* to the inquirer. The character and nature of the Cabeiri are as obscure as the meaning of their name. All that we can attempt to do here is to trace and explain the various opinions of the ancients themselves, as they are presented to us in chronological succession. We chiefly follow Lobeck, who has collected all the passages of the ancients upon this subject, and who appears to us the most sober among those who have written upon it (*Aglaopham.* pp. 1202—1281).

"The earliest mention of the Cabeiri, so far as we know, was in a drama of Æschylus, entitled Κάβειροι, in which the poet brought them into contact with the Argonauts in Lemnos. The Cabeiri promised the Argonauts plenty of Lemnian wine (Plut. *Sympos.* II. 1; Pollux, VI. 23; Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 115). The opinion of Welcker (*Die Æschyl. Trilog.* p. 236), who infers from Dionysius (I. 68, &c.) that the Cabeiri had been spoken of by Arctinus, has been satisfactorily refuted by Lobeck and others. From the passage of Æschylus here alluded to, it appears that he regarded the Cabeiri as original Lemnian divinities, who had power over everything that contributed to the good of the inhabitants, and especially over the vineyards. The fruits of the field, too, seem to have been under their protection, for the Pelasgians once in a time of scarcity made vows to Zeus, Apollo, and the Cabeiri (Myrsilus, *ap. Dionys.* I. 23). Strabo in his discussion about the Curetes, Dactyls, &c. (X. p. 466), speaks of the origin of the Cabeiri, deriving his statements from ancient authorities, and from him we learn, that

Acusilaus called Camillus a son of Cabeiro and Hephæstus, and that he made the three Cabeiri the sons, and the Cabeirian nymphs the daughters, of Camillus. According to Pherecydes, Apollo and Rhytia were the parents of the nine Corybantes who dwelled in Samothrace, and the three Cabeiri and the three Cabeirian nymphs were the children of Cabeira, the daughter of Proteus, by Hephæstus. Sacrifices were offered to the Corybantes as well as the Cabeiri in Lemnos and Imbros, and also in the towns of Troas. The Greek logographers, and perhaps Æschylus too, thus considered the Cabeiri as the grandchildren of Proteus and as the sons of Hephæstus, and consequently as inferior in dignity to the great gods on account of their origin. Their inferiority is also implied in their jocose conversation with the Argonauts, and their being repeatedly mentioned along with the Curetes, Dactyls, Corybantes, and other beings of inferior rank. Herodotus (III. 37) says, that the Cabeiri were worshipped at Memphis as the sons of Hephæstus, and that they resembled the Phœnician dwarf-gods (Παταϊκοὶ) whom the Phœnicians fixed on the prows of their ships. As the Dioscuri were then yet unknown to the Egyptians (Herod. II. 51), the Cabeiri cannot have been identified with them at that time. Herodotus proceeds to say, 'the Athenians received their phallic Hermæ from the Pelasgians, and those who are initiated in the mysteries of the Cabeiri will understand what I am saying; for the Pelasgians formerly inhabited Samothrace, and it is from them that the Samothracians received their orgies. But the Samothracians had a sacred legend about Hermes, which is explained in their mysteries.' This sacred legend is perhaps no other than the one spoken of by Cicero (*De Nat. Deor.* III. 22), that Hermes was the son of Cœlus and Dies, and that Proserpine desired to embrace him. The same is perhaps alluded to by Propertius (II. 2, 11), when he says, that Mercury (Hermes) had connexions with Brimo, who is probably the goddess of Pheræ worshipped at Athens, Sicyon, and Argos, whom some identified with Proserpine (Persephone), and others with Hecate or Artemis (Spanh. *ad Callim. hymn. in Dian.* 259). We generally find this goddess worshipped in places which had the worship of the Cabeiri, and a Lemnian Artemis is mentioned by Galen (*De Medic. Simpl.* IX. 2, p. 246, ed. Chart.). The Tyrrhenians, too, are said to have taken away the statue of Artemis at Brauron, and to have carried it to Lemnos. Aristophanes, in his 'Lemnian Women,' had mentioned Bendis along with the Brauronian Artemis and the great goddess, and Nonnus (*Dionys.* XXX. 45) states that the Cabeirus Alcon brandished Ἑκάτης θιασώδεα πυρσὸν, so that we may draw the conclusion that the Samothracians and Lemnians worshipped a goddess akin to Hecate, Artemis, Bendis, or Persephone, who had some sexual connexion with Hermes, which revelation was made in the mysteries of Samothrace.

"The writer next to Herodotus who speaks about the Cabeiri, and whose statements we possess in Strabo (p. 472), though brief and obscure, is Stesimbrotus. The meaning of the passage in Strabo is, according to Lobeck, as follows: Some persons think that the Corybantes are the sons of Cronos, others that they are the sons of Zeus and Calliope, that they (the Corybantes) went to Samothrace and were

the same as the beings who were there called Cabeiri. But as the doings of the Corybantes are generally known, whereas nothing is known of the Samothracian Corybantes, those persons are obliged to have recourse to saying, that the doings of the latter Corybantes are kept secret or are mystic. This opinion, however, is contested by Demetrius, who states, that nothing was revealed in the mysteries either of the deeds of the Cabeiri, or of their having accompanied Rhea, or of their having brought up Zeus and Dionysus. Demetrius also mentions the opinion of Stesimbrotus, that the *ἱερὰ* were performed in Samothrace to the Cabeiri, who derived their name from Mount Cabeirus in Berecyntia. But here again opinions differed very much, for while some believed that the *ἱερὰ Καβείρων* were thus called from their having been instituted and conducted by the Cabeiri, others thought that they were celebrated in honour of the Cabeiri, and that the Cabeiri belonged to the great gods.

"The Attic writers of this period offer nothing of importance concerning the Cabeiri, but they intimate that their mysteries were particularly calculated to protect the lives of the initiated (Aristoph. *Pax*, 298; comp. *Etymol. Gud.* p. 289). Later writers in making the same remark do not mention the name Cabeiri, but speak of the Samothracian gods generally (Diod. IV. 43, 49; Ælian, *Fragm.* p. 320; Callim. *Ep.* 36; Lucian, *Ep.* 15; Plut. *Marcell.* 30). There are several instances mentioned of lovers swearing by the Cabeiri in promising fidelity to one another (Juv. III. 144; Himerius, *Orat.* I. 12), and Suidas (s. v. *Διαλαμβάνει*) mentions a case of a girl invoking the Cabeiri as her avengers against a lover who had broken his oath. But from these oaths we can no more draw any inference as to the real character of the Cabeiri, than from the fact of their protecting the lives of the initiated; for these are features which they have in common with various other divinities. From the account which the scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius (I. 913) has borrowed from Athenion, who had written a comedy called *The Samothracians* (Athen. XIV. p. 661), we learn only that he spoke of two Cabeiri, Dardanus and Jasion, whom he called sons of Zeus and Electra. They derived their name from Mount Cabeirus in Phrygia, from whence they had been introduced into Samothrace.

"A more ample source of information respecting the Cabeiri is opened to us in the writers of the Alexandrine period. The two scholia on Apollonius Rhodius (*l. c.*) contain in substance the following statement: Mnaseas mentions the names of three Cabeiri in Samothrace, viz. Axieros, Axiocersa, and Axiocersus; the first is Demeter, the second Persephone, and the third Hades. Others add a fourth, Cadmilus, who according to Dionysodorus is identical with Hermes. It thus appears that these accounts agreed with that of Stesimbrotus, who reckoned the Cabeiri among the great gods, and that Mnaseas only added their names. Herodotus, as we have seen, had already connected Hermes with Persephone; the worship of the latter as connected with that of Demeter in Samothrace is attested by Artemidorus (*ap. Strab.* IV. p. 198); and there was also a port in Samothrace which derived its name, Demetrium, from Demeter (Liv. XLV. 6). According to the authors used by Dionysius (I. 68), the worship of Samothrace was

introduced there from Arcadia; for according to them Dardanus, together with his brother Jasion or Jasus and his sister Harmonia, left Arcadia and went to Samothrace, taking with them the Palladium from the temple of Pallas. Cadmus, however, who appears in this tradition, is king of Samothrace; he made Dardanus his friend, and sent him to Teucer in Troas. Dardanus himself, again, is sometimes described as a Cretan (Serv. *ad Æn.* III. 167), sometimes as an Asiatic (Steph. *s. v.* Δάρδανος; Eustath. *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 391), while Arrian (*ap. Eustath.* p. 351) makes him come originally from Samothrace. Respecting Dardanus' brother Jasion or Jasus, the accounts likewise differ very much; for while some writers describe him as going to Samothrace either from Parrhasia in Arcadia or from Crete, a third account (Dionys. I. 61) stated, that he was killed by lightning for having entertained improper desires for Demeter; and Arrian (*l. c.*) says that Jasion, being inspired by Demeter and Cora, went to Sicily and many other places, and there established the mysteries of these goddesses, for which Demeter rewarded him by yielding to his embraces, and became the mother of Parius, the founder of Paros.

"All writers of this class appear to consider Dardanus as the founder of the Samothracian mysteries, and the mysteries themselves as solemnized in honour of Demeter. Another set of authorities, on the other hand, regards them as belonging to Rhea (Diod. V. 51; Schol. *ad Aristid.* p. 106; Strab. *Excerpt. lib.* VII. p. 511, ed. Almelov.; Lucian, *De Dea Syr.* 97), and suggests the identity of the Samothracian and Phrygian mysteries. Pherecydes too, who placed the Corybantes, the companions of the great mother of the gods, in Samothrace, and Stesimbrotus who derived the Cabeiri from Mount Cabeirus in Phrygia, and all those writers who describe Dardanus as the founder of the Samothracian mysteries, naturally ascribed the Samothracian mysteries to Rhea. To Demeter, on the other hand, they were ascribed by Mnaseas, Artemidorus, and even by Herodotus, since he mentions Hermes and Persephone in connexion with these mysteries, and Persephone has nothing to do with Rhea. Now, as Demeter and Rhea have many attributes in common—both are μεγάλοι θεοὶ, and the festivals of each were celebrated with the same kind of enthusiasm; and as peculiar features of the one are occasionally transferred to the other (*e. g.* Eurip. *Helen,* 1304), it is not difficult to see how it might happen, that the Samothracian goddess was sometimes called Demeter and sometimes Rhea. The difficulty is, however, increased by the fact of Venus (Aphrodite) too being worshipped in Samothrace (Plin. *H. N.* V. 6). This Venus may be either the Thracian Bendis or Cybele, or may have been one of the Cabeiri themselves, for we know that Thebes possessed three ancient statues of Aphrodite, which Harmonia had taken from the ships of Cadmus, and which may have been the Παταϊκοὶ who resembled the Cabeiri (Paus. IX. 16, § 2; Herod. III. 37). In connexion with this Aphrodite we may mention that, according to some accounts, the Phœnician Aphrodite (Astarte) had commonly the epithet *chabar* or *chabor*, an Arabic word, which signifies 'the great,' and that Lobeck considers Astarte as identical with the Σελήνη Καβειρία, which name P. Ligorius saw on a gem.

"There are also writers who transfer all that is said about the Samothracian gods to the Dioscuri, who were indeed different from the Cabeiri of Acusilaus, Pherecydes, and Æschylus, but yet might easily be confounded with them; first, because the Dioscuri are also called great gods, and secondly, because they were also regarded as the protectors of persons in danger either by land or water. Hence we find that in some places where the ἄνακες were worshipped, it was uncertain whether they were the Dioscuri or the Cabeiri (Paus. X. 38, § 3). Nay, even the Roman Penates were sometimes considered as identical with the Dioscuri and Cabeiri (Dionys. I. 67, &c.); and Varro thought that the Penates were carried by Dardanus from the Arcadian town Pheneos to Samothrace, and that Æneas brought them from thence to Italy (Macrob. *Sat.* III. 4; Serv. *ad Æn.* I. 378, III. 148). But the authorities for this opinion are all of a late period. According to one set of accounts, the Samothracian gods were two male divinities of the same age, which applies to Zeus and Dionysus, or Dardanus and Jasion, but not to Demeter, Rhea, or Persephone. When people, in the course of time, had become accustomed to regard the Penates and Cabeiri as identical, and yet did not know exactly the name of each separate divinity comprised under those common names, some divinities are mentioned among the Penates who belonged to the Cabeiri, and *vice versâ*. Thus Servius (*ad Æn.* VIII. 619) represents Zeus, Pallas, and Hermes as introduced from Samothrace; and, in another passage (*ad Æn.* III. 264), he says that, according to the Samothracians, these three were the great gods, of whom Hermes, and perhaps Zeus also, might be reckoned among the Cabeiri. Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* V. 58, ed. Müller) says, that heaven and earth were the great Samothracian gods; while in another place (ap. August. *De Civ. Dei*, VII. 18) he stated, that there were three Samothracian gods, Jupiter or Heaven, Juno or Earth, and Minerva or the prototype of things,—the ideas of Plato. This is, of course, only the view Varro himself took, and not a tradition.

"If we now look back upon the various statements we have gathered, for the purpose of arriving at some definite conclusion, it is manifest, that the earliest writers regard the Cabeiri as descended from inferior divinities, Proteus and Hephæstus: they have their seats on earth, in Samothrace, Lemnos, and Imbros. Those early writers cannot possibly have conceived them to be Demeter, Persephone, or Rhea. It is true those early authorities are not numerous in comparison with the later ones; but Demetrius, who wrote on the subject, may have had more and very good ones, since it is with reference to him that Strabo repeats the assertion, that the Cabeiri, like the Corybantes and Curetes, were only ministers of the great gods. We may therefore suppose, that the Samothracian Cabeiri were originally such inferior beings; and as the notion of the Cabeiri was from the first not fixed and distinct, it became less so in later times; and as the ideas of mystery and Demeter came to be looked upon as inseparable, it cannot occasion surprise that the mysteries, which were next in importance to those of Eleusis, the most celebrated in antiquity, were at length completely transferred to this goddess. The opinion that the Samothracian gods were the same as the Roman Penates, seems to have arisen with those writers who

endeavoured to trace every ancient Roman institution to Troy, and thence to Samothrace.

"The places where the worship of the Cabeiri occurs, are chiefly Samothrace, Lemnos, and Imbros. Some writers have maintained, that the Samothracian and Lemnian Cabeiri were distinct; but the contrary is asserted by Strabo (x. p. 466). Besides the Cabeiri of these three islands, we read of *Bœotian Cabeiri.* Near the Neïtian gate of Thebes there was a grove of Demeter Cabeiria and Cora, which none but the initiated were allowed to enter; and at a distance of seven stadia from it there was a sanctuary of the Cabeiri (Paus. IX. 25, § 5). Here mysteries were celebrated, and the sanctity of the temple was great as late as the time of Pausanias (comp. IV. 1, § 5). The account of Pausanias about the origin of the Bœotian Cabeiri savours of rationalism, and is, as Lobeck justly remarks, a mere fiction. It must further not be supposed that there existed any connexion between the Samothracian Cadmilus or Cadmus and the Theban Cadmus; for tradition clearly describes them as beings of different origin, race, and dignity. Pausanias (IX. 22, § 5) further mentions another sanctuary of the Cabeiri, with a grove, in the Bœotian town of Anthedon; and a Bœotian Cabeirus, who possessed the power of averting dangers and increasing man's prosperity, is mentioned in an epigram of Diodorus (Brunck, *Anal.* II. p. 185)."

APPENDIX II.

THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS. (Chiefly from Rawlinson's *Herodotus* and Blakesley.)

THIS inscription is an authentic account of the exploits of King Darius, sculptured by his command, and is of the highest historical value for its statements of events and dates.

It was found at Behistun or Bisutun, on the borders of ancient Media, on the road leading from Babylon to the Southern Ecbatana. It is cut on a rock 1700 feet high, belonging to the great chain of Zagros, which separates the high plateau of Iran from the extensive plain watered by the two streams of the Tigris and the Euphrates. On the rock Darius is delineated, crowned and with a bow in his hand, trampling on a prostrate captive. Nine other captives are approaching the Monarch. Over this group the god Ormuzd is represented, and immediately over the human figures are inscriptions in the cuneiform or arrow-headed characters, said to be trilingual, one in old Persian, one in Babylonian, and one in the Scythic or Tatar dialect. It is supposed to have been wrought in the 5th year of Darius, B.C. 516. From one

of these columns when deciphered we learn the names of those who *alone* with Darius "slew *Gomates* the Magian, who was called Bartius;" these were Intaphanes, son of Veispases, Otanes, son of Socres, Gobryas, son of Mardonius, Hydarnes, son of Megabignes, Megabyzus, son of Dadoes, and Ardomanes, son of Vaccis. Of the five columns the first contains the most important historical information; it asserts,

"I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of Persia, king of the provinces, son of Hystaspes, grandson of Arsames, an Achæmenian.

"Saith Darius the king: My father was Hystaspes, of Hystaspes the father was Arsames, of Arsames the father was Aryaramnes, of Aryaramnes the father was Teispes, (whose) father (was) Achæmenes.

"Saith Darius the king: Are we called of Achæmenes? From of old we have been unsubdued; from of old those of our race were kings.

"Saith Darius the king: Eight of my race were kings before me; I am the ninth."

Afterwards we have detailed that Ormuzd is the giver of this power to the king, as well as of the provinces over which he rules. Then we have the details of the circumstances which led to Darius becoming king, as follow:

"Saith Darius the king: Ormuzd granted me the empire. Ormuzd brought help to me until I acquired this empire. By the grace of Ormuzd I hold this empire.

"Saith Darius the king: This is what was done by me before I became king. He who was named Cambyses, the son of Cyrus of our race, he was here king before me. Of that Cambyses was a brother named Bartius, of the same father and the same mother (or, of the same mother and the same father, according to Blakesley, who consistently with the Median notion thus presumes the precedence of *the mother*) as Cambyses. Cambyses slew that Bartius. When Cambyses had slain Bartius, that which Bartius had stirred up was unknown to the state. Afterwards Cambyses proceeded to Egypt. When Cambyses had proceeded to Egypt, afterwards the state became irreligious; afterwards a lie became abundant both in Persia and Media and the other provinces.

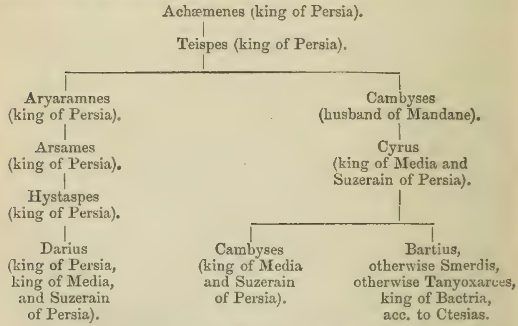
"Saith Darius the king: Afterwards was a man, a Magian, named Gomates. He rose up from Pissiachada, a mountain named Arakadres; from thence, on the 14th day of the month Viyakhna, then it was that he rose up. To the state he thus lied, 'I am Bartius, who am Cyrus' son, Cambyses' brother.' Afterwards the whole state came into the conspiracy: it passed from Cambyses to him, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces; he seized the empire. On the 9th day of the month Garmapada, then it was he thus seized the empire. Afterwards Cambyses, chafing, died.

"Saith Darius the king: That empire of which Gomates the Magian deprived Cambyses, that empire from of old belonged to our race. After Gomates the Magian had deprived Cambyses of both Persia and Media and the other provinces, he did according to his desire, he became king.

"Saith Darius the king: There was not a man, neither Persian nor Median, nor any one of our family, who would deprive Gomates the Magian of the empire. The state feared to oppose him. He often proclaimed to the state as he had known Bartius do, in that same way he had proclaimed to the state, 'Beware it hold me not in other account than as Bartius, the son of Cyrus.' No one was bold; every one was standing around Gomates the Magian and those who were his chief associates. Siktakhotes was the fort named; Nisæa the region of Media, there I slew him; I deprived him of his empire; by the grace of Ormuzd I became king. Ormuzd gave me the empire.

"Saith Darius the king: The empire which had been wrested from our race, that I recovered. I established it firmly; as in the days of old, so did I. The *rites* which Gomates the Magian had *introduced*, I *prohibited*. I restored to the state the *chants* and the *worship*, and to those families which Gomates the Magian had deprived of them. I firmly established the kingdom, both Persia and Media and the other provinces, as in the days of old. Thus did I restore what had been taken away. Thus did I, by the grace of Ormuzd, that Gomates the Magian might not blot out our race."

We subjoin the following genealogy of the Achæmenids, which Blakesley considers to be substantially in accordance with Herodotus and Ctesias, as well as with the Behistun inscription:



This, Blakesley considers, will explain parts of the inscription that are otherwise unintelligible. We quote his words:

"Darius, in the first part of what may be called his annals, as well as in the tablet above his own figure in the bas-relief, asserts that there have been *eight kings of his race* before him, and that he himself is the *ninth*. As it is plain from the genealogy which accompanies this assertion, that three of the number were not in the direct line from Achæ-

menes to himself, and consequently were not kings of Persia, they must be sought for elsewhere. I believe that they are Cyrus the Great, Cambyses, and the true Smerdis. It may be argued against this view, that as he speaks of Smerdis (Bartius) as a fomenter of troubles, it is not to be supposed that he would acknowledge him as a sovereign *de jure*. To this, however, I cannot agree. Ctesias expressly states that Cyrus left his son Tanyoxarces (who is identical with the Bartius of the inscription) an *independent sovereign* of a portion of his dominions, at the same time that he constituted the elder brother Cambyses his successor in the *empire;* and although subsequent proceedings cost the younger son his life, yet this would not (I conceive) at all detract from the disposition to acknowledge his royal character. Jehu paid a similar mark of respect to the idolatress Jezebel immediately after he had caused her destruction. And it is to be observed that Bartius's conduct is no where spoken of as if it had extended to open rebellion against Cambyses. He is rather conceived of as secretly tampering with the subjects of the latter, and, if destroyed at all during his reign, as cut off by assassination,—in so mysterious a manner as to occasion very different reports both of the time and the circumstances of his death, and to furnish more than one pretender with plausible grounds for asserting his existence. For until after the death of Cambyses it was popularly believed that he was alive and reigning; therefore, *up to* that time it was impossible that he should have been publicly declared a rebel and as such deprived of his royal character, even if we grant that this consequence would, in Oriental ways of thinking, follow from such a public declaration. And *after* the death of Cambyses, and the assertion being publicly made that the professed Bartius was an impostor, there would remain no motive for such a gratuitous insult to the memory of a prince who no longer stood in the way of Darius."

To return to the history of the empire after the death of Cyrus; it may be gathered from every account of Cambyses that his distinctive character was that of a despiser of the prevailing religion, his hostility to which was carried to the extreme of intolerance. A savage in temperament, and filled with religious fanaticism, his policy put an end to the calm which had been produced by the compromise of his father Cyrus, and induced the troubles which it was the interest of his brother Bartius, king of the Bactrians, to foment. It was only natural under such circumstances that the Medians should seize the opportunity of Cambyses' absence in Egypt to endeavour to rid themselves of him, and at the same time revive the supremacy of their own religion. It had become a question between supremacy or extinction; and accordingly the general revolt spoken of in the Behistun tablets took place, and was for a time eminently successful, until the Ormuzd worshippers under the guidance of Darius—the next heir to the empire after the death of Bartius—once more obtained the victory, and by the consummate skill of their champion succeeded in consolidating it. Indeed the true political significance of the Magian usurpation,—represented as it is by Herodotus in the light of a private scheme, carried into effect by an ambitious and unprincipled pretender,—yet shews itself here and there in his narrative, in insulated passages which harmonize ill with

the story that he follows in his main account, but are in exact agreement with the course of proceedings as recorded in the Behistun tablets. Several of these undesigned confirmations of the official account have been remarked in the notes, and probably more will be detected by a reader whose attention has been called to the subject.

The narrative of Herodotus represents the cadastral system introduced by Darius as his *first* measure after setting up the monument to which the strange story of his horse was attached. But this system, from its very nature, implies a centralization of government. It was calculated by its operation to render the monarch far more independent of his powerful vassals, and likewise to procure him personal popularity in the outlying countries, the imports on which were fixed by it at a definite sum, instead of being left dependent on the will of the ruffianly chiefs who happened to be in command. It was only to be expected that this limitation of arbitrary power should be unpalatable to the semi-barbarous Persian chivalry, and that they should express their contempt for the financial turn of their sovereign by nicknaming him "a tradesman." Now, when Herodotus puts the erection of the monument and the introduction of the cadastral scheme together, this is (I apprehend) due to the circumstances of the two relating to the salient points of Darius's life. His accession to the throne of Media not merely made him the feudal superior of the king of Persia, but united in one family the hereditary sovereignty of both countries, and thus furnished him with a power that his predecessors had not possessed,—that of converting a bundle of states into an organic whole. Except under such circumstances, it is likely that the centralization effected by him would have been impossible; and we see that those Persians who were not Achæmenids, as well as the Magian usurpers, are represented by Herodotus as pursuing the opposite policy, and are calculated to encourage the independence of the separate states. But even with such advantages of position, it is inconceivable that such a revolution as that effected in the creation of the Persian empire (as we find it at the end of Darius's reign) can have been brought about by him rapidly. It is more reasonable to consider it as the ultimate state into which things subsided at the end of a long series of wars and civil troubles. And this is exactly what the Behistun inscription would lead us to believe. The annals, which take up the greater portion of the first and the whole of the remaining three tablets which completed the original monument, are nothing more or less than the details of those campaigns which issued in the acquisition of absolute dominion over the twenty-three provinces, these provinces themselves being enumerated immediately after the formal recitation of Darius's titles, that is, in the *very beginning* of the inscription. The acquisition of the empire, and its reduction under a system of central government, is plainly regarded by the Persian monarch in the same light as the French Code was by Napoleon: it is the great work in which he looks to go down to posterity—the *résumé* of his achievements. Before it could have been effected the spirit of the individual races must have been quelled, their separate interests fused together, and the weight of individual nobles diminished to an extent which could scarcely have been produced by any other

agency than that which the inscription shews us to have been at work, viz. bloody wars of race and religion, terminating in the establishment of a central predominant power wielding the resources of the whole empire.

Such a course of events is quite natural, and in accordance with what has taken place in many other countries. The struggles which resulted in the supremacy of Darius have their parallel in the Thirty Years' War of modern Europe, and in our own Wars of the Roses. Henry the Seventh is the English Darius in many important elements of his character and fortunes, although wanting his personal accomplishments and generous temper.

Conformably to what might have been expected from a train of events such as have been sketched out, it appears that Darius changed the seat of government from Agbatana to Susa. This was as important a step as it would be to transfer the British court and legislature from London to Edinburgh; or as it would have been if the Bourbons on their restoration had made Bordeaux the capital of France. Yet the fact only appears *indirectly* from the narrative of Herodotus, who is perfectly unconscious of the momentous revolution of interests necessarily involved in such a policy, and never explicitly notices it at all.

Again, the extreme anxiety about the personal identity of Bartius, and the very mysterious circumstances attending his death, receive an entirely new illustration if the relationship of Darius to Cyrus was what we have suggested. It is perfectly certain that very many persons believed Gomates to be the genuine son of Cyrus, and perhaps with justice. Darius believed himself to be the *only* person cognizant of the death of the real Smerdis. Prexaspes must have believed the same. Otanes, in his turn, fancied the pretender's secret known only to him. One thing is clear, that it was absolutely necessary for the Persian party to destroy Gomates, and that they had the same motive for denying his claim to be the son of Cyrus that the Orange party in the reign of James II. had for trumping up the story of the warming-pan. The claim of legitimate succession has always been too powerful an engine not to be coveted by aspirants to power, and secured, if necessary, by the commission of crime; and the removal of the only obstacle to Darius's accession (whether Gomates or Bartius) was at last achieved by a *small band* of conspirators, who justified their act to the world by the equivocal evidence of producing the head of their victim and that of his brother in public.

But by whatever means Darius may have acquired his power, it is plain from various incidents mentioned in the narrative of Herodotus, that he used it in a prudent and temperate manner. If he spared nothing to establish the supremacy of the religious party of which, according to the Behistun inscription, he was the champion, yet, that result having been obtained, he appears to have been at least tolerant of the conquered party. The fierce fanaticism which had served him excellently as a weapon of offence must have become very inconvenient when he had no longer rivals to overthrow; and it was only to be expected that he should revert to the policy of Cyrus and carefully avoid that of Cambyses. And hence, probably, arose that revival of

Median customs and religious rites in the court of the new dynasty, which is indicated in the consultation of Magian soothsayers by his son Xerxes, the Magian hero-worship at Ilium, the scrupulous reverence for Delos exhibited by the Median commander Datis, and (as it would seem) the recognition in later times of the necessity of a Magian priest, even where the ceremonial belonged to a simple religious system. Indeed the remarkable tendency of the Persians to adopt foreign customs, which Herodotus himself remarks as an especial characteristic, would probably have baffled the attempt of Darius, had he even been desirous of making one, to retain them, after inheriting the wealth and civilization of their late masters, in the simplicity of their ancient manners and ancient faith. The more sagacious chiefs of the old school doubtless, like Artembares, prophesied the degeneracy of a generation brought up in habits which would have excited the horror of Cyrus, but their protest was in vain; and in the time of Herodotus it can scarcely be doubted that the court of the Great King presented in morals, religion, and social indulgence of all kinds, a picture in no respect different from that which might have been seen in the worst days of the Median or Assyrian dynasties.

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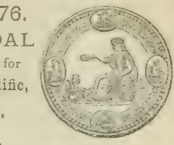

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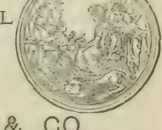

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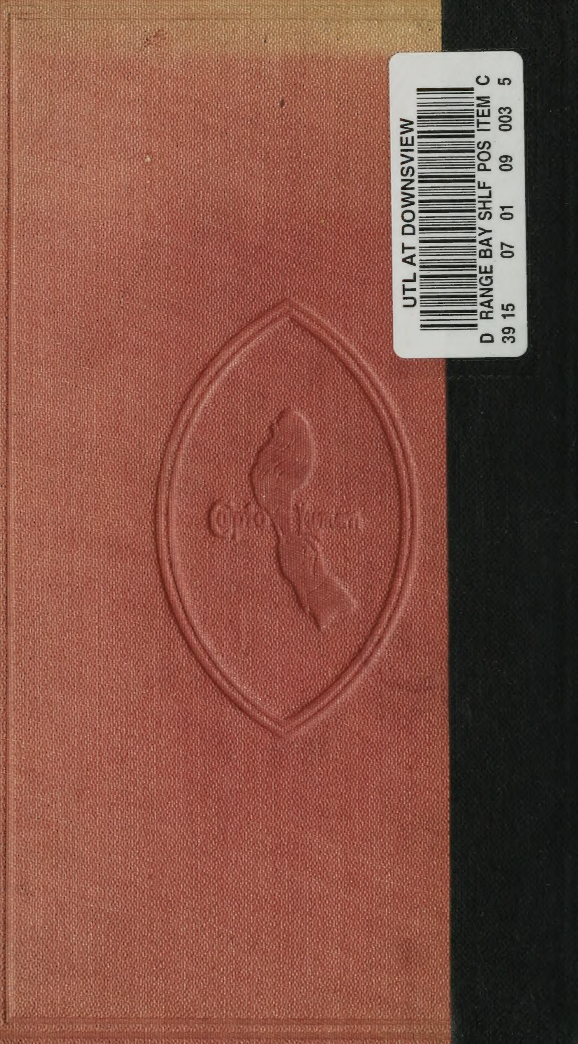
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